



# ***JPRS Report***

## **Political Affairs**

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# Political Affairs

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**Former Kuzbass Strike Leader Assesses  
Gorbachev, Workers' Party**

90UN2399A Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian No 27, 6 Jul 90 pp 2-3

[Interview with Teymuraz Avaliani, USSR people's deputy, delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress, by P. Yemelin, correspondent: "There Is No Pie in the Sky!"]

[Text] The party congress assembled a bright constellation of personalities, people who are genuinely active, bold and independent thinkers. One of them is our interviewee today. His name evokes the thunder of the miners' strikes; his sharp, utterly unflattering words are heeded equally by workers, ministers, and even the President of the USSR. His path was not strewn with roses. As a 10-year-old boy, he was evacuated from besieged Leningrad after his mother's death in 1942. He was brought up in children's homes in Yaroslavl Oblast, graduated from Trade School No 1 in Rybinsk with a specialization as a fitter-toolmaker. In 1954, during his army service in the Transbaykal region, he joined the CPSU. And within two years destiny cast this former overtime worker into the far-off Siberian small town of Kislevsk. Here he worked for 17 years at the Mine imeni Vakhrushev and graduated from the institute as a correspondence student. For 11 difficult, "stagnant" years he headed up the Kuzbassobuv Association. He paid for his civic boldness but was not expelled from the party. In January 1984 he became deputy general director of the Kiselevskugol Association for Capital Construction. Last year, during the hot days of the July disturbances of the miners, he was chairman of the Kuzbass Strike Committee. Since April of the current year he has been first secretary of the Kiselevsk CPSU Gorkom. P. Yemelin, LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA correspondent, interviews this man, T. Avaliani, who is also a USSR people's deputy and a delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress.

[P. Yemelin] Teymuraz Georgiyevich, the party congress is conducting a complicated discussion concerning the fate of our Soviet Union and the fate of the Communist Party. How do you evaluate the present-day situation in our country?

[T. Avaliani] About 10 years ago I wrote a few articles—more for myself than anything else—under the general rubric: "Who Profits from This?" Already at that time I had the following presentiment: Certain forces are working with all their might in order to destroy not just anything, but specifically our state. Many persons nowadays are ridiculing the ideological struggle which has been waged between us and the West. But there is really nothing to laugh at. This struggle was waged, is being waged, and will be waged. It's simply that its forms and means are different. Nowadays things are more or less correct, but the results of this have not changed. To be sure, about 10 years ago there was not yet such a coordinated, targeted pressure as has now appeared, but already at that time doubts about socialist values were being introduced into people's consciousness. And, based on this, a constant dissatisfaction with life began

to appear. It was suggested to us, and many persons came to believe it, that everything in the West was better—housing, wages, culture, and the standard of living.... We were gradually led to the view that it was time to abandon our experiments and do everything the way they do over there. And there came a time—in my opinion, this was manifested with particular precision during the years 1986-1987—when these ideas struck a response in a specific mass of the people, i.e., a "feedback" began to manifest itself. It was clear to everyone that we could no longer go on living as we had previously done. It was necessary to make the transition to a new level in the economy, politics, international relations, and the spiritual sphere. But neither the Politburo nor the government was prepared for such a turning-point, and the situation got out of control. This began to be reflected not only in opinions but also in actions. And workers' strikes began—you know, of course, they did not begin just in 1989 but earlier.... There are, I repeat, forces which are directed, I'm convinced, for the most part, from abroad: they are primarily seeking to undermine our state sovereignty.

[P. Yemelin] Looking for "enemies" again? At one time all our troubles were heaped on "wreckers." Just recently we were made to fear "CIA intrigues." But, after all, the seeds of wrath, as we know, grow on soil that has been prepared. Is it really so hard to understand why we are so dissatisfied with our own life nowadays?

[T. Avaliani] Yes, the soil was ready, but it had also been prepared—and that's what I was talking about. There were, and there still are forces in our country and abroad who want to split up our state. I do not intend to name them precisely and specifically. The names are not important. The main thing is to reveal the destructive idea, and the "performers" will be found. Or take the following point, for example. If I were in Reagan's shoes, and I saw how interethnic hostility was flaring up in the USSR, as well as how the workers' dissatisfaction with the CPSU's policy was growing, I would be very satisfied. From what standpoint or with what purpose, it may be asked, do our "capitalist friends" wish us well? And our country, when unified and powerful, was always like a bone in their throat! And Western figures such as Z. Brzezinski, for example, cannot conceal a quiet joy from the fact that the "last great empire" is falling apart; they only wish that "this process of disintegration may be as peaceful as possible," and they propose their own mediation. And here our politicians such as B.N. Yeltsin at this complicated time are inciting emotions still more, and are intensifying centrifugal trends still more. The state must be rescued! But for some reason at the 28th CPSU Congress this is spoken about only casually, and sometimes not even at all.

[P. Yemelin] But just what, in your opinion, is state sovereignty or the quality of statehood?

[T. Avaliani] It is subordination within the limits of the law. It's a bad thing when each step is regulated, but there are basic laws and insubordination to which



already constitutes a disintegration of the state. By the way, in the "savage" West the respect for the law is very high.

[P. Yemelin] You were in at the beginning of the workers' movement. Have your views on the strike changed during this year?

[T. Avaliani] When the strikes were just beginning, the miners on the squares did not even let the activists from the "informal" organizations get close to the microphones; they had an extremely guarded attitude toward such activists. At that stage the strikes were led principally by their own hard-working brothers from the mines. But most of these leaders did not want to proceed further; they returned to the work places. The initiative was seized by other people; the ideas of the "informals" penetrated into the working environment, and the workers' movement became politicized. Economic demands retreated to the background, and political demands were put forth—right up to asking the government to resign. From that moment on, the strikes played into the hands of the destructive forces, which are striving for power and frequently provoke the workers to take extreme measures.

[P. Yemelin] I was in Vorkuta at the end of the autumn strike by the miners. The strike by the Vorgasherskaya, which was directly linked with the Interregional Deputies' Group, call for sticking it out to the end, to the point where push came to shove. They said that without political changes, no improvement could be expected in the economy. Don't you agree with this?

[T. Avaliani] Let's suppose that the political strike achieves its goal: the government resigns, and the regions obtain independence.... But what would change? Our economic mechanism, in which one region depends on another, would fly to hell in a handbasket. In addition to everything else, we would begin to hate each other. Something like the following would be said: I did not give you coal, so you did not give me meat... There would be an abrupt, irreparable breakdown of the entire economy. And here nobody from abroad would help us. What kind of a fool would grant credits to a state where everything was falling apart?...

[P. Yemelin] But how do matters stand with regard to economic independence in the Kuzbass? I remember that in that very same Vorkuta your fellow-townsmen Yu. Gerold saw a solution in setting up a coal concern.

[T. Avaliani] In principle, this idea is a correct one; but, alas, even such concerns would be "pocket" types, i.e., on the ministry's "bridle." And so there can be no serious talk of economic independence for the Kuzbass. I suppose that the most acceptable form in this regard would be that of the sovmarkhoz. In my opinion, this was the most intelligent innovation in our country for that time.

[P. Yemelin] Staking the "wagers" on the independence not simply of regions, but of individual enterprises is being done, you know, in the program of the new Russian government....

[T. Avaliani] This will not work. No way! Such an independence would ruin us. As I've already said, economic interdependence is so great in our country that any loss of any sort of ties would inevitably lead to a reduction in product output. A chain reaction of discrepancies, lacks of coordination, and short deliveries would begin....

[P. Yemelin] What is your opinion on making the transition to market-type relations?

[T. Avaliani] I'm a long-time advocate of the market. But I have never proposed that everything proceed in just this manner. Is it a matter of indifference whether, in teaching a boy to swim, you throw him into the deepest part of the water, he scrambles out and pulls through or not? I have had my own conception of how to make the transition to the market-type economy, and I tried to push it through, but....

[P. Yemelin] What is the gist of it?

[T. Avaliani] All the enterprises were striving to have at their disposal at least a small share or proportion of the output. I demonstrated the following point: we must provide them with the opportunity to sell to whomever they wish and for how much [i.e., how high a price] they wish up to 10 percent of the products which they actually turn out. It is profitable for an enterprise to sell more, but for that purpose it must produce more. And it would be necessary to gradually increase the "amount of freedom" from 10 to 15, 20, and 30 percent, to make it possible to enter the international market. This is the correct path to a convertible ruble. I sent my notes to the Politburo and to the CPSU Central Committee.... The last time which I set forth this concept was last summer during the strike—to the members of the party-state commission.

[P. Yemelin] To Comrade Slyunkov?

[T. Avaliani] Yes. I also introduced my proposals at the Second Congress of the USSR People's Deputies, where I was a member of the Commission for Economic Reform.

[P. Yemelin] The party congress also listened to reports by members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee. What is your evaluation of their work?

[T. Avaliani] I had already voted previously at the Kemerovo Oblast Party Conference—to express a lack of confidence in the Central Committee and the Politburo. If you recall, in speaking at the Third Congress of the USSR People's Deputies, I also spoke about M.S. Gorbachev's activity. I have absolutely no complaints about him as a person, but as a leader of the party and the state—Excuse me.... As far back as November 1985 I

wrote to him in a letter that nothing would come of his ideas. When a firm politician—for example, M. Thatcher or Mitterand—arrives, Gorbachev begins to bring out a package of his own ideas in the first few months. So far, alas, these have been merely words.

[P. Yemelin] Do you think that this is specifically the way that Gorbachev came to power?

[T. Avaliani] I am absolutely convinced of that. Mikhail Sergeyevich, I think, understood that our state could no longer develop as it previously, and he began to break up the old system. Assistants, including the Western powers, can always be found for breaking things up rather than building things. But so far there is nothing new in the economy; and it is on the latter that the people's well-being or prosperity depends.

[P. Yemelin] But why, in your opinion, hasn't a precise program of actions been worked out during these past five years? Haven't there been enough intellectual efforts, or what?

[T. Avaliani] Everything must stem from practical experience. And when so theoretician begins to propose something, I always feel like asking him the following: Is rice sown or planted?... Now may I pose a question to myself?

[P. Yemelin] Please do.

[T. Avaliani] Why is it that we are always without an alternative, when we have elections of the highest leaders in the state and the party?

[P. Yemelin] And how do you answer this question?

[T. Avaliani] Several speeches at the party congress have already contained the following proposal: that M.S. Gorbachev be elected General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. I have been thinking for quite a long time about this question. Reality led us at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies to the idea that there was no genuine alternative to Mikhail Sergeyevich. Furthermore, at that time the people were completely for Gorbachev. And I, expressing my own will as well as the will of my own constituents, voted for the election of Comrade Gorbachev as Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. By the time of the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies the evaluations of M.S. Gorbachev's activity had already changed. But again there was no alternative. However, I already did vote against the election of M.S. Gorbachev as our country's president. Today the situation is extremely complicated once more: we need a stronger figure, but there is none. And I will vote for Gorbachev. In my opinion, we are all to blame for the fact that this is occurring, and M.S. Gorbachev, above all. We do not nominate ourselves—we are overcome by false modesty—and we do not seek out leaders. But M.S. Gorbachev obviously does not strive to have strong individuals around himself; this is because he fears competition. And that is why, of the 12 Politburo members who spoke at the congress, only two—A.N.

Yakovlev and Ye.K. Ligachev—would I rate as more or less “fairly good” or “bearable” speakers. But what the hell kind of political leader can a person be if he is not a good speaker? Furthermore, whose words does he use when speaking with people—his own or those provided by a speechwriter?

[P. Yemelin] In your own 58 years, Teymuraz Georgiyevch, how did you become a party staffer?

[T. Avaliani] As recently as two years ago a great many people suggested that I switch over to party work—but I refused. But then, in April of this year, I was nominated by the entire city. The CPSU Obkom attempted to conduct the election on an alternative basis, but nobody came forward to stand as an alternative candidate.

[P. Yemelin] As I understand it, an alternative was needed not for the sake of the matter itself, but because it is now “in vogue,” right?

[T. Araliani] Precisely so. But the main thing is that the voting took place not in a conference; all of Kiselevsk's communists took part in it.

[P. Yemelin] And what have you encountered in your party work?

[T. Avaliani] A lack of trust in the leadership organs of the CPSU—a great deal stems from this. Because, after all, the destructive forces about which I have spoken understand the following: without the collapse of the CPSU, our state cannot be crushed or shattered. Therefore, targeted fire is being directed at the party and the party apparatus. For example, the leftist radicals have dubbed the Constituent Congress of the Russian Communist Party as the “Congress of the Conservatives.” When you circulate around among your own like-minded persons and become infected with hostility toward your opponents, you could, of course, arrive at such a conclusion. But wouldn't it be better to address the needs of the people? Can the people be called conservatives? But people are tired of promises; they've had it up to here with political jabbering; they're fed up with intra-party dissensions and reservations.... Take those well-known privileges, for example. How much has been spoken about them, but there clearly is no final solution in sight.

It's clear why trust in the party is declining. One promise after another is made.... In mid-March, even before being elected first secretary of the gorkom, I published a lengthy article for the local newspaper; it was entitled “There Is No Pie in the Sky!” This is not a new line for me. I have set this line forth previously wherever I have worked. If you need housing, I told people, build it. Build it yourselves, by cost accounting or any other damn method—but build it! In our country, however, we've become accustomed to relying on someone else. But when I was the director of the Kuzbassobuv, we didn't wait for anybody. We built a kindergarten, a dispensary, a boiler-room, houses....

[P. Yemelin] But why should a miner also have to be a builder?

[T. Avaliani] Why? Because we were forced into such a situation. It's a vicious circle! The builders run to the mine in order to get higher wages. And who will do the building? All the more so in our town, where there are no extra hands; on the contrary, there are not enough of them. And so we have made it possible to build things for ourselves.

[P. Yemelin] But what kind of solution do you see as a way out of the present crisis?

[T. Avaliani] A very great deal will depend upon the leader of the state. If he is able, on the one hand, to convince or persuade the people, and, on the other hand, to restore former ties, ranging from the spiritual to the economic. But if this does not occur, the disintegration of the state is inevitable.

[P. Yemelin] Some others are setting their hopes on the historic mission of the working class; they are awaiting the advent or coming of a kind of "Workers' Christ"....

[T. Avaliani] In my opinion, these expectations are in vain. A worker's sphere of activity is still too limited. A leader of the scope which we are talking about here needs to have a very, very wide horizon.

[P. Yemelin] Whom, then, do the workers believe in or trust?

[T. Avaliani] That's a complicated question. Often, all-too-often they believe in those who lie to them.

[P. Yemelin] At present efforts are being made to create some kind of special, purely workers' party.... What's your attitude toward that?

[T. Avaliani] A year has past since the time of the Kuzbass miners' strike. What did it show us? We became convinced that it was impossible for workers to push through their demands without the intelligentsia. Already at the First Conference of the Kuzbass Working People's Union we needed the help of economists, sociologists, and jurists.... A purely workers' party I consider to be a bluff.

[P. Yemelin] You referred to your own published items. Do you write prose fiction or journalistic works?

[T. Avaliani] Primarily notes for myself. This helps me to understand events better. But when necessary, I turn to the newspaper.

[P. Yemelin] What's your opinion of present-day literature and journalism?

[T. Avaliani] I'm not a specialist, and I can judge only from the standpoint of a simple citizen. When, let's say, I see in a mass edition something which is virtually pornography, it becomes insulting for the editors and for the readers. This may be used, probably, to increase circulation for a certain length of time, but it cannot be

used to educate a nation. When I read a work which does not simply distort our history, but attempts to project it to nihilism, to a complete rejection or denial of everything, I think the following: that's not the way to raise patriots. And without patriotism there is no state. Recently I was in the United States—there's where there is patriotism, and how! It's necessary to see with what trembling or quivering Americans react to their national anthem or their flag.... I had thought, I must admit, that I would encounter rock music at every step in America. But there they have a cult of the family and a cult of the cultured or refined society. Moreover, they have adopted the good elements which we used to have in our country.

[P. Yemelin] Do you find a common language with young persons?

[T. Avaliani] In recent times I have often had occasion to meet with young persons. It sometimes happens that we argue until we are hoarse. But, in my opinion, we understand each other.

[P. Yemelin] Thank you, Teymuraz Georgiyevich, for this frank conversation. We wish you success.

### **Jurist Assesses Draft Law on Public Organizations**

90UN2476A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian No 28, Jul 90 p 10

[Interview with Andrey Adamovich Trebkov, chairman of the USSR Union of Jurists, by Mark Gorin: "I Want To Create an 'Organization'.... Draft of a New Law Requires Specificity"]

[Text] Today the desires of several like-minded persons is sufficient to create an "organization" at their own initiative and still quite recently even this attempt would have placed a man on the verge of conflict with the criminal code. It is understandable that arbitrariness is inadmissible in this process but it is also impossible not to regulate such social phenomena.

A draft Law of the USSR on Public Associations has been published for nationwide discussion. It has caused many disputes. The editors asked Andrey Adamovich Trebkov, chairman of the USSR Union of Jurists, to comment on it.

[Gorin] Andrey Adamovich, broad strata of the people's masses who exert real influence on the processes occurring in the country have entered the political arena through various public organizations, parties, and movements in recent years. It is as if their appearance has been caused not only by profound changes in the political sphere but also by radical transformations of the economy?

[Trebkov] Lease terms, a multitude of forms of property, changes in the sphere of land usage, and many other new phenomena of economic life have given rise to various interests of society's groups and strata. New public associations also act as expressers of them in many cases:

The Consumer Protection Union, the Peasants Union, etc. The development of self-governing foundations and the creativity of the masses promotes the transition from the command administrative system to a democratic, civil society, political pluralism, and a multi-party system. The spectrum of new relations is very broad—from the Greens Movement and historical monument preservation societies to anarchist and monarchist organizations and movements. All of them reflect the diversity of social and political interests to some degree.

[Gorin] Do we have many public organizations today?

[Trebkov] There is not yet a law about them and therefore there are also no reliable statistics. But as far as I know, they number nearly 70,000. On one hand, this positive process needs the State's active support and, on the other hand, a definite framework needs to be introduced to insure that both traditional and new public formations function legally and that they observe the rights and legal interests of other organizations and citizens. Therefore, the problem of legal regulation of the system of formation and the activities of public formations has acquired a particular sharpness, all the more so since union and republic laws currently in force that were adopted in the early 1930's are hopelessly obsolete.

[Gorin] Does the draft reflect the expectations of our citizens? Much in the life of the State and society depends on what the nature of this law will be.

[Trebkov] The published document is unquestionably a step forward. But it also contains ambiguous wording and some "lack of agreement" between some passages. For example, I would consider it necessary to say in the preamble: The State guarantees citizens real implementation of the right of association.

[Gorin] But does this draft generally exclude revelation of this concept?

[Trebkov] We need to include a special article about this. We all know that the Constitution of the USSR does not contain normative reinforcement of citizens' right to establish public associations or to join already established organizations. It would be useful to also stipulate the right of Soviet citizens to establish international public, nongovernmental associations and also the right to enter into such organizations that are established abroad, to enter into any, also including non-international foreign public organizations, if this is permitted by the law of the applicable states and the charters of these organizations.

[Gorin] In the draft, what is the legal status of public associations precisely from the point of view of insuring human rights and guarantees of execution of the USSR's international obligations?

[Trebkov] I recall that Article 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed the right to freedom of association. It was also approved in the International Pact on Civilian and Political Rights that

is legally binding for our State. There it was particularly stressed that: "the exercise of this right is not subject to any limitations whatsoever, besides those that are provided by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of state or public safety, public order, protection of the population's health and morality, or protection of the rights and freedom of other individuals."

[Gorin] But according to the International Convention of the Organization of Labor "On Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right of Organization," freedom of association includes the right of citizens to establish an organization of their choice without prior authorization and the right to join them under the single condition of subordination to their charters?

[Trebkov] Freedom of association is in fact one of the primary criteria of citizens freedom and a society's democracy. It can be limited only in the event when this is necessary for protection of the interests of society or when we are talking about unconstitutional activity that infringes on the rights of other individuals.

[Gorin] But must the law really spell out the concept of various associations? Can we not get by with one general provision or article here?

[Trebkov] We need to differentiate the concepts of such types of associations as political parties, mass movements, and organs of public individual initiative. All the more so since the expression "and others" is used in Article 1 of the draft. This provides the opportunity to ambiguously interpret the concept of various types of associations. And the title of the Law "On Public Associations" assumes that all associations of citizens totally or partially fall under its force. However, Article 1 Part 3 totally excludes entire types of public associations from under this force while indicating that the order of their establishment and activities "are determined by law."

[Gorin] Therefore, the best variation to resolve this issue has not been selected?

[Trebkov] It is more logical to apply the principles of the Law "On Public Associations" to these "exclusive" types of associations, furthermore with precise indications of these principles and the appropriate articles of the law. And I stress: Regulation of their legal status is carried out by other laws.

[Gorin] Andrey Adamovich, there is a requirement in the draft for mandatory registration of all public formations. Is this necessary?

[Trebkov] This is our traditional attempt to encompass all associations of citizens without exceptions using the State's "watchful eye." It would be more appropriate to proceed from the premise that only the charters of public associations whose activities are capable of having a significant impact on the life of society and which are associated with granting their ruling organs the status of a juridical person should be subject to state registration.

[Gorin] Well, and how will it be if an association does not at all desire to register its charter? Is it going to cease to exist due to this? Will it then become illegal?

[Trebkov] Obviously not since this is not provided for by the draft law and by Article 3, in particular. These issues must be additionally considered and properly reflected in the law. I can hardly agree with the fact that registration may be refused in the event that provisions of the charter contradict not only the Constitution of the USSR but also the constitutions of union and autonomous republics and this law, but all "other laws." Such a "broad" standard opens the scope for its willful interpretation and the arbitrariness of officials. It is justifiable to limit their capability to interfere just to violations of the law in the activities of public associations.

[Gorin] How long can a bureaucrat, if he does not refuse to register a public organization, protract the process of executing his obligations?

[Trebkov] We are just now forming a rule-of-law state in our country.... And the draft, even though it establishes a two-month period for examination of the charter registration application, does not stipulate a time period for the association to receive an answer. This must be precisely specified.

[Gorin] But the law must really be mandatory for both sides? How do we prevent negative manifestations in the activities of public organizations and at the same time not infringe upon their rights?

[Trebkov] It is a fine line and it is easy to overstep it and slip into arbitrariness. First, we need to expand the list of associations' rights that are stipulated by Article 15. It is not out of place to particularly note the right to obtain information from state organs required by the associations to realize their goals, tasks, and rights and the right to unimpeded access to any type of information about their activities and to propagandize their ideas and goals. And second, the law must contain an exhaustive list of barriers to the establishment and activities of public associations that are not subject to any type of broad interpretation whatsoever.

[Gorin] Andrey Adamovich, but how will it nevertheless be with political organizations and parties? According to what criteria can they, for example, be distinguished from organizations that are called public? Should their activities be regulated by a special law?

[Trebkov] I think that there is only one criterion that distinguishes a public organization from a socio-political [organization]: A political organization can be considered to be an organization that has a goal of campaigning for power. We must consider [political organizations] to include the parties that have arisen and a number of popular fronts that have been established in the Republic. I, a jurist, am totally aware that this is an objective reality of a democratic, rule-of-law state in which all parties that meet the requirements of the constitution are in principle equal before the law. And

the law needs to state that the establishment and activities of political parties must be regulated by a special law.

[Gorin] Do you think it is timely to determine the proper approach to those unique public formations—political parties?

[Trebkov] This is inevitable in my opinion. With the amendment to Article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR and the actual, real existence of a multi-party system in our country, we must really adopt a law on political parties. And already regulate the right of association in political parties in more detail in it than in the draft we have discussed... really, a series of questions associated with their establishment, registration, termination of activity, and system of participation in elections of the organs of state power, the principles of mutual relations with representative organs and administrative organs, and monitoring their activities and their responsibility.

[Gorin] How could this law on political parties not be transformed into a declaration....

[Trebkov] In my opinion, one path is possible: To spell out the stipulated rights and prohibitions of parties in the most exhaustive manner in the Law on Parties in order to avoid any ambiguities in their interpretation. And there is a great danger of this: Really, even skilled jurists who are participating in the polemics that are unfolding on this score are not firmly defending this point of view. Even Article 3 of the draft states establishment of what types of associations are prohibited and the list ends with the words: "...perpetration of other criminally punishable activities." Really this small word "other" can be assumed to be anything and we cannot agree with it at all. The law should not be passed without clearly specified examples of these prohibitions.

[Gorin] Do we need the same approach in all such situations?

[Trebkov] For example, the draft stipulates the theme for obtaining material aid from abroad while specially assigning a ban for political parties and public movements pursuing political goals. But it does not specify what it means by these goals. In my opinion, we need to clearly write: Public associations' receipt and use of money and other assets that arrive from abroad must be used only for realization of goals and tasks of those associations indicated in their charters and in a manner defined by law.

[Gorin] A good law—and a better guarantee against arbitrariness....

[Trebkov] I am totally against leaving "gaps" between the provisions of a law, especially such a serious one and through real practice. I am convinced: We need to strive for the ideal in lawmaking.

### Mutalibov on Council of Federation

90US1136A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
21 Jun 90 p 1

[Interview with A. N. Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan SSR, by an Azerinform correspondent: "On the Path to Federation"]

[Text] Recently a session of the USSR Council of Federation was held in Moscow. A. N. Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan SSR, took part in its work. An Azerinform correspondent met with the republic president and asked him to talk about the problems and questions that were discussed at the council.

[Mutalibov] I would like to mention the extremely important nature of the present session. It is primarily because the topic being discussed there was primarily the country's fate, a question that is probably the most vitally important one today—the future of the Soviet federation. The contradictions between the center and the republics, and among the republics themselves, which manifested themselves sharply as early as the beginning of perestroika, have begun at the present stage to take on an increasingly destructive and inadmissible nature.

The very logic of social development and the processes of democratization has brought us to the threshold of the radical reconsideration of the union and interrepublic relations that have developed.

As is well known, in the 1922 Union Treaty that continues to be in effect to this day, federalism was recognized as being the only form of state structure that was acceptable for a multinational country, a form that makes it possible to combine centralism with a definite degree of the republics' independence. Without going into the arguments that are so current today in scientific and political circles with regard to the legality and justice of that historic act, I would like immediately to emphasize my point of view concerning this question.

The establishment of the federative state in 1922 undoubtedly had tremendous importance that was progressive for its time. The more democratic state structure that had come to replace the tsarist semifeudal Russian power opened up broad opportunities for national rebirth, the consolidation of dozens of nations and nationalities, and the formation of socially just interrelationships. It must be kept in mind that the subjects of federation at that time were not yet too developed politically and the need for a greater degree of centralization was determined to be a heavy historic burden.

It is also indisputable that the creation of the USSR in 1922 was a logical consequence of the carrying out of the interests of the union republics that were united in it. Otherwise it was impossible to defend and strengthen the Soviet authority, to restore the war-destroyed economy, or to guarantee security and defense. The threats being created by the hostile forces surrounding the country

were obvious, but the attractiveness of the USSR was also explained by its democratic organization.

It was another matter that in the 1930's there was a warping in the direction of bureaucratically centralist methods and manifestations of unitarism.

And yet, during the 72-year period of Soviet history, gigantic changes occurred in our society, and the past five years of revolutionary perestroika have made it possible to embody them in the large-scale reforms being carried out in the political, social, spiritual, and economic spheres. There has arisen an understanding of the need to put the union structure of our state into conformity with the logic of political progress itself, with the rapid growth of the national self-awareness of nations. The understanding that the Union cannot exist separately from the republics, that it is precisely the republics that constitute that Union, and, consequently, that Union must completely conform to their interests and needs. And that truth must become the foundation for the new union relations.

Therefore, at the session of the Council of Federation a decision was made to concentrate its efforts on working out a new Treaty governing the Union of sovereign states, without delaying it to the indefinite future.

[Correspondent] What did your position, as the president of Azerbaijan, consist in?

[Mutalibov] I am convinced that not a single republic is able, so to speak, "on the run" or in complete volume to guarantee autonomous development. The break, the disintegration of the integrational relations that had been formed over a prolonged historical period of time among the republics, krais, and oblasts of the country is fraught with catastrophic consequences for the national economy. I firmly feel that, at the juncture of the twenty and twenty-first centuries, when such headlong integrational processes are proceeding in the world, when the world community of states resembles more and more a gigantic communicating vessel, archaic, callous separatism would be pernicious not only for ourselves, but would also have serious consequences for the rest of the world. I am spoken with as much directness as possible about this and about other critical factors. We need, finally, to understand that the world today has largely become a single world, and primarily thanks to the constantly developing economic ties, thanks to the commodity exchange among various countries that is becoming stronger, and on their basis the increased cultural cooperation and the expanding political contacts. But our country is later than the overwhelming majority of other states in taking the path of genuine world economic integration. Therefore, it is necessary to discard all the past offenses and emotions and to think a bit about what is more reasonable today: to break all the economic ties that took decades to develop, to reject the tremendous amount of experience in joint life, to reject one another, and to begin to swim independently in the tempestuous ocean of the world market, or to do this all

together. I am not speaking about the political aspects of the problem, about the balance of forces that was achieved with a tremendous amount of labor in Europe, or military balance or the striving by practically the states for guarantees of collective security.

There is yet another, no less substantial aspect of this reality. Namely: the currently existing forms of the state system in our Union are obsolete. Our republics in all senses—political, social, and spiritual—have long since outgrown the “strait jacket” of unitarism. They certainly can no longer live either in the “short pants” of federalism. Especially since, to a considerable degree, the confidence of our nations in it has been undermined. For Azerbaijan, for example, a republic that was one of the initiators and founders of the Union, that problem was considerably complicated by the fact that, while being a member of the Union, it was the first republic to be subjected to unconcealed political and armed aggression not from outside its borders, but from the rear, from a republic that was a neighbor on the basis of geographical location and on the basis of membership in the Union.

After experiencing, over the course of two and a half years, all the horrors of a real war, the nation of our republic justifiably began to doubt not only the stability of the union federation, but also its ability to defend the sovereignty, honor, and dignity of one of its completely equal members. I made frank statements about this at the Council.

In my firm conviction, the introduction of harmony into the integrational ties that have developed is possible only under conditions of the confederative structure of the state. That means that all the union republics voluntarily, on the basis of equal rights, conclude a treaty according to which, while they remain completely sovereign, they create those union agencies from their own representatives that will be given the responsibility from the republic to carry out measures to assure the collective security, to create interrepublic infrastructures, to create a free market within the Union, and to carry out a foreign policy that reflects the interests of all the members of the Union. Moreover, those measures must be carried out within the confines of powers that are defined by the republics.

I expressed myself firmly, clearly, and unambiguously as being in favor of precisely this form of confederation. At such time I considered it to be fundamentally important to emphasize that, in our opinion, an idea that is unacceptable is the idea of the possibility of establishing different levels for inclusion in the USSR, when some republics would possess a larger volume of rights and powers than others. This actually would mean discrimination with regard to certain union republics on the part of the Union as a whole and inequality in the relations among the union republics.

[Correspondent] What do you think the new Union Treaty should be?

[Mutalibov] Obviously, the treaty is not being created in a vacuum. USSR Supreme Soviet recently enacted a series of laws that are being used to resolve many of the questions that will be dealt with in the Union Treaty. These are the laws governing the delimitation of the powers between the USSR and the subjects of federation; the economic relations among them; the procedure for seceding from the USSR; the languages of the nations of the USSR; USSR citizenship; etc. While having no intention whatsoever of belittling the importance of the legislative work that was done by USSR Supreme Soviet, I cannot at the same time fail to mention the following. It would be extremely difficult to create the Union Treaty by combining into one the texts of the various laws, without losing the integrity, internal coordination, and consistency of the principles and sections of the document. There is something else that is essential: it is necessary to see how the new laws have been perceived and the degree of effectiveness with which they are operating, what is working in those laws, and what has proven to be “nonviable.” And, finally, what is probably the most important thing—the Union Treaty cannot be developed or let down “from the top”; it must be a work created by the republics themselves. And we stated that at the Council session and made the appropriate specific proposals: to create commissions to develop the treaty draft in each republic and to present their proposals for consideration by a statewide commission, the members of which—the empowered representatives of the union republics—will have to make the decision on the basis of a consensus.

I am convinced that, if one looks for the common denominator for the innovations in developing the Union Treaty, the principle that must be that common denominator is: it is not the Union that “bestows” the rights to the republics and that, consequently, can narrow or limit those rights at its discretion, but it is the republics that come to an understanding concerning which powers are to be transferred to the Union. The Union must not have the right to reconsider or override those powers. But what arises here is one of the very important questions of the Union Treaty that constitute its basic collision—the question of the priority of the unionwide or the republic laws.

How does one resolve this question by civilized means? In my opinion, this requires the precise and scrupulous separation of the competency of the Union and of the republics. Moreover, it is mandatory to see three levels of relations: the exclusive competency of the republics, that forms the bulk of the affairs; the exclusive competency of the USSR, which includes only that which will be transferred to the center by the union republics; and joint competency, where every question must be resolved on the basis of mutual consent. To resolve this last type of questions, it is necessary to define the legal mechanism for resolving disputes between the Union and the republics.

And there is something else. Obviously, in the Union Treaty one should not limit oneself to proclaiming the

very principle of sovereignty, but should think out carefully the necessary standards, procedures, and structures that define the mechanism for its actions. The economic basis of sovereignty deserves special attention. A republic will not be able to resolve the questions of its development if it does not receive the opportunity completely to possess, use, and manage its national wealth, to regulate the economic and social development on its own territory. Moreover, I feel that many of the republics' sovereign rights that previously were firmly established in the constitutions should be not simply repeated, but also developed. For example, the right to conclude international treaties and agreements with regard to questions that are of interest to the republic. This practice as of today, as everyone knows, exists in the West German states and in Quebec in Canada. The union republics would be able to resolve independently the question of the forms in which they will implement their right to representation in foreign states.

It appears to me that there is an extensive list of questions that pertain to the joint jurisdiction of the republics and the Union. Joint management of them, from my point of view, would mean that the Union, as a rule, establishes the general principles for resolving various questions, chiefly by means of the enactment of the principles of the legislation, while the concretization and development of those principles is a matter for the republics. Meanwhile an analysis of the current legal situation in the country indicates that we have not yet overcome the centralism complex. It is not only the principles that are still being made at the union level, but also the laws, the place for which is in the republic-level legal systems.

I think that, for the future stability of the renewed federation, the new Union Treaty must be a component part of the Constitution to be newly adopted, all the standards of which must be the standards for direct action that reliably guarantee the rights of all the subjects of confederation.



**June Armenian CP Plenum Reviews Draft Party Platform****Information Report***90US1162A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
29 Jun 90 p 1*

[Information Report on 28 June 1990 Armenian CP Plenum]

[Text] Plenum participants included the first secretaries of party raykoms and gorkoms; secretaries of primary party organizations; representatives of the ispolkoms of city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies; department heads under the Armenian CP Central Committee; and ministers and representatives of Armenian SSR state committees who are not in the Armenian CP Central Committee. Invited also to the plenum were members of the republic commission charged with conducting the elections of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress; delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress from the Armenian Communist Party; members of the commission charged with drafting the Armenian CP Program; secretaries of the Council of Trade Unions and the Armenian Communist Youth League; military servicemen; and mass media representatives.

The plenum examined "The Armenian CP Central Committee Draft Platform for the 29th Armenian CP Congress."

V. M. Movsisyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, delivered the report on this subject.

The publication of this report was proposed by plenum participants to promote broad discussion of it in labor collectives and party organizations. A motion was also made to suspend the work of the plenum until after the 28th CPSU Congress. A working group was named to finish the Armenian CP Central Committee draft platform prior to the republic party congress.

In connection with the exacerbation of the situation in Nagorno-Kabarakh, the plenum passed a resolution to make an appeal to the 28th CPSU Congress. The text of the appeal will be published.

Addressing the plenum were R. A. Aleksanyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Gorisskiy Rayon Committee; A. M. Geramyan, acting chairman of the Yerevan City Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee; Z. G. Balayan, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA staff correspondent for the Armenian SSR; V. G. Petrosyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Spandaryanskiy Rayon Committee; and K. L. Dallakyan, chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations With Armenians Abroad.

The plenum was informed of the results of the elections of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress as representatives of the Armenian Communist Party in a further report by T. A. Dilanyan, secretary of the Armenian CP

Central Committee and chairman of the republic electoral commission. A list of the delegates will be published.

The Armenian CP Central Committee plenum will resume its activities following the 28th CPSU Congress.

**First Secretary Movsisyan on Draft Platform***90US1162B Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
1 Jul 90 pp 1-2*

[Speech by Armenian CP First Secretary V.M. Movsisyan]

[Text] Comrades!

The draft platform of the Armenian CP Central Committee is herewith submitted for your consideration. It is anticipated that it will be reviewed in two stages. First of all, it will be necessary, through a vigorous exchange of opinions, to determine the basic positions of the delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress from Armenia; then after taking into account the results of the Congress, it will be necessary to complete work on the draft platform, and amend it from a practical standpoint, before adopting it as the fundamental document of the Armenian Communist Party. Naturally, the basic guidelines of the Congress will be embodied in the Armenian CP draft program, the preparation of which is now under way by a commission that was appointed at our previous meeting.

Participating in the preparation of the draft platform were a number of commissions of the Central committee, together with a group of secretaries of the primary party organizations, party representatives, officials from the soviets, and individual communists. Observations and suggestions made by the Central Committee as well as some appearing in the press were taken into consideration. Nevertheless, I want to make clear that the document is in need of major revision.

In adopting resolutions pertaining to the draft platform, we have taken into consideration not only the situation in the party and the country as a whole, but particularly the radical changes taking place in republic politics, accompanied by an emerging crisis that now encompasses every phase of our public life.

In thinking over what has happened in the recent past, and in attempting soberly to assess the future lot of our country and the situation tomorrow, the people are keenly aware of the problems underlying the unstable conditions of the region: problems that include the precarious position of their compatriots in Nagorno-Kabarakh, the policy of apartheid, and the Azerbaijanization of the NKAO; the crises in economics and ecology; the dishearteningly slow pace of efforts to eliminate the consequences of the catastrophic earthquake; and the protracted efforts to resolve the plight of the refugees.

The Armenian Communist Party attaches fundamental importance to making a sober and judicious assessment of the current situation and to working out procedures for extricating ourselves from this tragic predicament.

It must be realized that without a radical and profound reform of the party and of party life, the achievement of the tasks that will face us tomorrow will be impossible. Unfortunately, the Armenian CP Central Committee, its bureau, and our party organizations have progressed too slowly in this respect. The people are tired of unending promises, of fruitless talking, of unrealized social expectations, of unstable conditions, of anarchy, of arbitrary and ill-founded decisions, of frequent violations of the law and general lawlessness. It is impossible to tolerate such conditions any longer.

An analysis of the situation and of the forces at work indicates that the contradictory character of the democratic transformation of our republic is manifesting itself in a particularly pronounced and tragic way. There are many reasons for this phenomenon, and they are well known to you. Conservatism and bureaucratization have had an extremely negative impact, deeply affecting virtually every level of party and state leadership. Red tape, half-hearted compromise decisions implicit in the principles of the past, timidity and hesitation to undertake direct approaches have become prevalent in all elements of the state administration and in the activities of the party organizations as well. It is necessary to put an end to such a situation, or we shall deprive ourselves of the opportunity to preserve the unity of the party organization and to restore its shaken authority.

Of course, in our work on the draft platform, we are not obliged to follow blindly the concepts and decisions set forth in the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee or in resolutions adopted in other regions of the country. On the contrary, it is necessary that with due regard for the lessons of the past and present, and after strictly weighing existing conditions, we address the issues facing the Armenian people at this decisive stage in history and work out stable guidelines for our present and future activities.

Above all, it is necessary for us to confront the question of what the proper place and role of the party should be in the political and social life of the republic. What should be the program objectives of its political activity? What theoretical foundations should it be grounded upon? How are the social and national interests to be reconciled? How is a division to be maintained between the party structure and state structure? What are the underlying principles, the approaches, and the procedures to be followed in extending the width and depth of intra-party democracy?

Today various, often mutually exclusive approaches to the resolution of these problems may be observed. On one side may be found those with a conservative and dogmatic attitude towards the social and political processes that have occurred. A policy for the radical

transformation of society is looked upon as a rejection of the fundamental values of socialism, while dreams are still nurtured of restoring an obsolete totalitarianism with a monopoly of political power. On the other side, there are those who would dismantle and do away with the party, voicing slogans that reject and repudiate socialism, in an effort to bury Communist ideology in the archives of history.

In both instances, there are obvious extremes that are observable, characterized by an absence of thorough and impartial evaluation of the particular, objective conditions and complexities of developing our society and of revealing the true situation with respect to the national, political, and social expectations and hopes of our people.

The overwhelming majority of communists, reflecting the interests of the broad masses, endorse a vigorous process of democratic change, including changes within the ranks of the party itself; and they believe it essential to direct all viable political and social forces to overcome the deep crisis that facing us.

We have no other alternative. The party must either adopt a policy of radical change with its eye on the future, or it must leave the stage. Today, under the new conditions, the party is committed not only to expedite by every means possible the radical transformation of our society, but to serve as the primary political force for bringing this historical process into being.

The working out and adoption of a new Treaty of Union, forming the legal foundation of the Soviet Union, is of crucial significance not only for the Communist Party but for all the peoples of the country. Soviet Armenia should be a party to this treaty, which would, if signed, ensure its sovereignty and independence.

Maintaining the priority of republic interest in securing its sovereignty must be our fundamental point of departure. The issue may be posed as follows. It is not the Union that grants the right of independence to the republics; it is rather the independent republics, as independent states, that voluntarily, by mutual consent, concede to the Center certain rights in the pursuit of their common interests. Only in carrying out these functions can All-Union laws take precedence; in all other cases, the laws of the republics take precedence. Nor are they subject to review by the Center. Laws of the USSR may enter into force in the Armenian SSR only after they have been ratified by the republic Supreme Soviet.

Under these conditions, the mutual relations between Armenian Communist Party and the CPSU and its central agencies likewise must be formed along radically new lines. Henceforth the Armenian Communist Party may no longer be looked upon as a republic party organization with no more than local rights, as has previously been the practice.

It is not possible to do away with the whole structure of arbitrary administrative control without uprooting it within the party itself. The party and its principles of organization are even more in need of radical democratic reforms, which will take into consideration the changing political, socio-economic, national, and social trends within the country.

The Armenian Communist Party should not simply represent the CPSU in the republic; it should more fully express the hopes and aspirations of the working people of Armenia. As the political party of Armenia, it will be obligated to fulfill the decisions of the leading agencies of the CPSU insofar as it reflects the vital interests and sovereign rights of the Armenian people.

The Armenian Communist Party will maintain an entirely independent policy with regard to the parties and movements of Armenians overseas, and it will work to develop closer relations with the various parties and political movements in other republics as well as overseas. At the same time, it will continue to be mindful of our national interests, including the cultural and international traditions of the Soviet peoples.

I wish to repeat that our aim should be to create a cohesive Communist Party of Armenia with an independent policy and charter and with a workable political platform capable of playing a decisive role in the economic and cultural rebirth of the republic.

Our principal task is to have the Armenian Communist Party become a strong and modern party enjoying real public power—a party of social progress and vigorous reform. While expressing the fundamental aspirations of the Armenian people as it struggles to reach its goals, our party should rely on the universal goals and achievements of world civilization, placing the goals of all mankind above those of narrow class interests. Nationalism, chauvinism, racism, and other manifestations of reactionary ideology will continue to be alien to it.

As an independent political organization voluntarily uniting the citizens of this republic, the Armenian Communist Party sets as its principal objective the building of a humane and democratic society which will ensure the rights of the individual, of diverse groups, and of the people as a whole in accordance with internationally recognized standards.

The party will firmly follow a policy aimed at consolidating all healthy forces that are capable of promoting the genuine prosperity of our people, both at home and abroad, and of defending its interests, its honor, and dignity. In this cooperative effort we see an effective means of resolving not only the immediate but also the long-term political, socio-economic and nation-cultural problems of the Armenian people.

In pursuit of these objectives, the Armenian Communist Party will strive to master modern methods of political leadership, while rejecting the former peremptory bureaucratic style of operation and administration. It is

necessary also to refrain completely from the practice of fulfilling the functions of state and economic organs and from maintaining a monopoly over cadre policy and the nomenklatura. It is necessary also to rebuild the structure of intra-party relations, so that the primary organizations and party members have the opportunity to exert an influence, not simply in words but in actions, upon party policies and upon the elections for primary party organizations. The party shall always strive so that the soviets exercise their full rights as organs of the power of the people, capable of taking upon themselves the new functions of governing in our society. In accordance with the Constitution, and as a means of implementing its program objectives, the party will struggle to win each deputy's seat.

With the aim of overcoming malfunctions in the relations of the leading party organs and primary organizations, the Armenian Communist Party will repudiate such negative aspects of democratic centralism as a multiple-tiered hierarchical structure, characterized by isolation, autocratic decisions, and the exclusion of fellow party members from the process of decision-making and administrative control. Specific steps will be taken and clear-cut procedures worked out designed to involve communists and all working people in working out matters of party strategy and policy. At the same time, the practices of glasnost, of providing options in decision-making, and of recognizing the rights of minorities will be safeguarded.

In its struggle for the broad democratization of party life, the Armenian Communist Party believes it is necessary, on one side, to maintain the purity and unity of its ranks, to reject any kind of privileges, and to strengthen party discipline; and, on the other side, simultaneously to strengthen party comradeship.

Today the most dangerous aspect of the republic Communist Party is a deepening of the tendency for disunity within its ranks. Certain of our comrades and primary party organizations are rightly of the opinion that the processes of democratization is going too slowly for us, and that the Central Committee and its bureau are not taking sufficiently courageous or effective measures for us to get out of this crisis. Indeed, this slowness and lack of decisiveness is obvious. It has its own causes and history. It does not mean, however, that in this fateful situation for our people and republic we should reward fissiparous tendencies, or waste our energies, or be guided by personal ambitions. We must combine forces to overcome these difficulties.

Today the task of achieving agreement with respect to fundamentals among citizens and nationalities acquires special importance. Unnecessary intra-party and inter-party debates only exacerbate the situation, distracting us from addressing basic tasks. Any further deepening of tensions and confrontation is dangerous; for it is under just such conditions that dictatorships can arise.

Today it is extremely important to maintain party unity and not to allow a split to develop in party ranks. But it is likewise essential not to permit conservatism, totalitarianism, and tyranny to continue to exist behind a facade of unity.

Perestroika, invigorating our political and social existence, has altered the character of the Communist Party and the whole of society within the republic. Pluralism is being affirmed, and opposed opinions and points of view are now being expressed. Our task is to maintain a political balance, and to find the political means of leverage not only to unite party ranks but to consolidate all the salutary forces of society. Herein lies the current mission of the Armenian Communist Party at this difficult, tense, and fateful hour.

Under the conditions of a multi-party system, the future will belong to the party that devotedly serves the people, expressing its interests and not simply in slogans but in a broad-based program of reform through its policies, its convictions, and its performance. We should openly and forthrightly condemn the mistakes of the Communist Party that have been committed in the past, the massive repressions and lawlessness, which have aroused the deep indignation of the workers. By our actions we must demonstrate that there will be no return to such measures, that we will struggle unremittingly with every manifestation of lawlessness and staunchly defend the interests of the people. Only in this way can the Armenian Communist Party assert its role as a political party and serve as the connecting link in consolidating all the national political forces and movements. The Communist Party should play a vigorous and organic part in the growth and leadership of the nationality movement. In the present political situation there is no other way or means of approach except through the earnest and fruitful cooperation of the vital forces.

The Armenian Communist Party must become a genuine political party, relying upon the broad masses of workers as well as party members, on party comradeship and conscious discipline. At the same time, with the protection of the rights of the minority, the existence of various political factions within the party becomes intolerable. Under conditions of a multi-party system, this division can only weaken the party and lead to its breakup. But we consider reviewing various platforms and approaches and then amending the party's own approach on the basis of their sound features to be logically valid.

Comrades! The key task today is to work out and implement a new policy with regard to the ideological activities of republic party organizations. For a fundamental reform to take place, a democratic ideology is necessary, free of obsolete dogmas, outmoded schemes, and one-sided academic interpretations of what is going on. We need an ideology based on universal values and an awareness of the objective laws of the development of society, and of Soviet society in particular; one that under the conditions of today's pluralism will enable us

to enter into a far-reaching dialogue with various other social factions and consolidate the society in terms of its intrinsic principles of humanitarianism and justice.

Marxism-Leninism is not a code of dogmas, as popularly believed for many a year. The times require revised philosophical approaches and theoretical generalizations. Today it is of the utmost importance to work out a modern conception of socialism and the communist view of things. The Armenian Communist Party should respond energetically to the dynamics of our life without claiming to possess a unified theory based upon ultimate truth. The people need food, shelter, work, proper living conditions—not another program designed to live “happily ever after.” They need unrestricted development—not extravagant talk about the fraternal friendship of peoples.

Having entered upon the path of democratic reform, the Armenian Communist Party in its ideology should, above all, reflect our national interests, encompassing all aspects of the cultural life of the Armenian people and its moral values, which are naturally bound up with those of humanity as a whole. Our party should have a clear-cut national character, and it should be the bearer of ideas for a national rebirth.

Of course, the times in which we live are in themselves contradictory. As it casts off the chains of barracks socialism, the country is awakening as from a state of hibernation lasting several decades. The people are gradually straightening their backs. Although this can be a painful process at times, it is one that is typical of all revolutions.

These processes of social and political resurgence that are occurring throughout the country, combined with the internal cares and anxieties that are present in our republic, have created a tangle of problems from which we can hope to extricate ourselves only at the cost of great effort. It is in no way surprising that in the minds and hearts of all Armenians, coexisting with bright hopes of a national awakening, there has been a sense of despair in recent years; of uplift and disillusionment; of optimism and pessimism. Such a succession of alternating mood swings continues to this day.

One of the most painful issues continues to be that of nationality. The Armenian CP Central Committee considers it an urgent task to undertake a practical overhaul of the party's nationality policy, designed to modernize and put in working order the mechanism for implementing the rights of peoples and ethnic groups to unrestricted self-determination. We see this as the key to resolving the problem of Artsakh.

There is no doubt that the Armenian Communist Party, together with all Armenians, while rejecting all sorts of arbitrary interpretation and malicious distortion of the Artsakh problem, will defend to the end the legitimate rights of the the Armenian population of Artsakh to national independence.

Again and again the effort has been made to distort the very heart of the Artsakh problem by reducing it to the level of an ethnic conflict or an argument over territory. In our neighboring republic as well as at the center, such interpretations lead attempts to resolve the problem into a blind alley. We are deeply convinced that the sole way to stabilize the situation in the region is to reach a just resolution of the problem of [Nagorno] Karabakh out of respect for and in defense of human rights. This should be understood at all levels.

Unfortunately, events have unfolded in accordance with another kind of logic.

Our people can see that the right of people to free self-determination, which is universally recognized as both a legal principle and an inherent right, ceases to be such a right when the matter concerns the just aspirations of the Armenians living in Artsakh. We are witnesses to the fact that in the Land of the Soviets, and in the eighth decade of its existence, it is possible to torture people illegally and harass them out of nationalist prejudice; to persecute them and to deport them; to blockade an entire republic and autonomous republic; to violate the borders of the USSR, which have previously been considered sacrosanct; and, after all this, to go unpunished, and once again to commit new criminal offenses that are humiliating to the national pride of our peoples.

After the utter desecration of human rights in Nagorno-Karabakh, today a situation has developed that is even more grievous than the one which existed prior to February 1988. A crude policy is now being openly put into effect designed to isolate the NKAO completely, to do away with its autonomy, and to deport its indigenous population. Attesting to this is the present blockade of the NKAO, the demographic changes taking place there, the intensive construction going in the Azerbaijani villages, and the territorial-administrative alterations, as well as other unconstitutional acts that are being carried out.

The mass media in Azerbaijan, as well as a number of organs of the central press, are waging an intentional campaign to distort public opinion as they pursue a policy of pinning labels on people.

Unfortunately, our counterpart press organizations are incomparably less effective in their efforts to provide full and fair coverage and inform the public at home and abroad about what is really going on.

We condemn the unfounded assertions directed against our people that were contained in the account given at a recent meeting of the Azerbaijani CP Central Committee. We condemn the efforts made to distort the reasons for the situation that developed in the region. And we declare that we shall not permit the good name, the honor, and the dignity of the Armenian people to be trampled upon, no matter who may attempt to do so.

It is inevitable that the situation that has developed in the region will leave a deep imprint in the public

consciousness. For one of the most important legacies of the Soviet Union has been shaken—the faith of the people in its own state of peace and security.

A wave of recent tensions has been largely brought about by the fact that the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet dated 28 November 1989, which was half-hearted and lacking in principle in the first place, has been grossly violated. Instead of restoring the leading parties and Soviet organs, a republic organizing committee has been established, which is openly backed by subunits of Azerbaijani SSR troops, and which is frankly preoccupied with engaging in illegal activities.

Matters have reached a point where a policy of liquidating organs of Soviet power is being carried out in one rayon. A few days ago, the activities of the Gadрутский Rayon committee were halted by an arbitrary decision.

Communists and all the workers of Armenia demand that the leaders of the country restore Soviet authority in the autonomous oblast without further delay and call to account all those who have participated in unlawful activities. In the present political situation in the country, while in various places efforts are being made to secede from the USSR, such an attitude towards the organs of Soviet power are strange to say the least; they are tendentious, and they are fraught with far-reaching consequences. The Union Oversight Control Commission is non-existent for all practical purposes, having become no more than a tool in the hands of the republic organizing committee. The Azerbaijani side is negotiating now from a position of strength. From an apparent policy of cooperation, it has openly switched to a policy of delivering ultimatums.

Today more than ever Artsakh is in need of economic, moral, and intellectual support from the motherland. In meetings with representatives of the NKAO we have tried in every way possible to discuss the issues stirring up our compatriots, whose principal demands are that recognition be given to the oblast soviet, raising the status of the NKAO, and that the blockade be lifted.

One of the principal reasons for the undesirable incidents that have occurred in the NKAO recently is attributable to the presence of the military. We believe that they should not be stationed in the cities and rayons heavily populated with Armenians, but for the most part in the border areas with mixed populations, in which case, of course, arbitrary behavior on the part of the military would be avoided and the clashes and conflicts would be curtailed.

Right now specific steps are being taken to resolve these and a number of other matters, including through negotiations. We are not in the role of passive observers. A few days ago we presented to the leaders of the country, and to the President of the USSR personally, our basic assessment of the situation in Artsakh, requesting without further delay intervention to prevent a state of lawlessness. Our position in this regard is clear and unambiguous. The constitutional rights of the people of

Artsakh must be respected in accordance with international standards of human rights.

The deterioration of the situation in Artsakh was brought about also by a number of internal factors. The popular movement gradually lost its unity and split into a number of divided factions, which then became irreconcilable. Wasting the energies of people and dividing them in a quest for power at any price is not to be tolerated. It is at the very least immoral to sacrifice issues linked with the fate of a people to vain and egocentric ambitions.

It is also dismaying that under current conditions, which should lend themselves to a broad pluralism of opinion and the growing power of the people, there is unprecedented political chaos, characterized by the appearance of various contending factions, each one of which not only interprets the existing situation as it pleases but exploits it in its own interest. The fact is that some of the movements and organizations that have sprung up independently do not lend themselves to any constructive program for leading the republic out of political and economic crisis but are instead engaged for the most part in trying to inflame public passions.

This situation is also in part a result of timid and indecisive action by the Armenian CP Central Committee, the SSR Supreme Soviet, and the republic administration, reflecting a lack of understanding from the very beginning how to channel the popular uprising in such a way as to promote national unity. An intolerable neutrality has been maintained throughout. At any cost it is essential to prevent a further split in the unity of the popular movement that could have ruinous consequences.

Capricious behavior and ill-considered decisions undertaken independently create conditions conducive to all kinds of provocative and malicious acts. The tragedy that occurred in Yerevan on 27 May was a shock to us all. The bloody incident was not a spontaneous calamity, and it could have been prevented.

The Armenian CP Central Committee bureau has reviewed this incident and taken decisive measures to prevent further bloodshed. The bureau has noted that what happened was the consequence of criminal irresponsibility on the part of various movements, groups, and individuals, attributable to their radical objectives and efforts to incite violence. Further aggravating the situation were the passive, indecisive, and at times unprincipled actions of republic law enforcement organs in not disarming criminal groups and preserving public order.

This crude political provocation was intended to further destabilize the situation in the republic and incite hostile feelings against the Soviet Army. The Armenian SSR Office of the Procurator is now conducting an investigation, and the people may rest assured that those responsible will very soon be exposed and receive the punishment they deserve.

We categorically reject the false notion that the leaders of the republic should bear the blame for what happened. This fabrication merely represents another attempt to fool public opinion and shift the blame onto the shoulders of others by certain leaders of the organization called the Armenian National Movement.

The situation that has developed calls for preventive steps to be taken immediately to curb otherwise unrestrained efforts to obtain weapons at any cost and organize armed detachments. A considerable quantity of weapons and ammunition has turned up in the hands of various groups. As the events of recent months have shown, these weapons are being used by certain persons with criminal intent, and in response to them the republic law enforcement agencies—and we ourselves—have not been taking adequate countermeasures. The people justly demand of us the re-establishment of public order, providing protection against armed attack, and the curbing of those criminals who operate under the guise of resorting to means of self-defense.

The truth is that on more than one occasion the Armenian CP Central Committee, The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers have issued public appeals in an attempt to convince people to turn in their weapons within a prescribed time limit. Thanks to the measures taken in past months, 32 percent of the weapons seized have been returned. In general, weapons must not be left in the hands of trouble-makers. From a similar standpoint, there must be no more concessions—we must take decisive steps.

It is necessary also to speed implementation of the decree of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet on establishing a Defense Council and military detachments for maintaining public order.

The current crisis is also conditioned by the fact that republic party and state organizations have not been able to orient themselves correctly in a timely manner to the situation as it has developed. The tendency to favor a dialogue has resulted in a state of utter permissiveness. Party cadres have failed to assess properly the full potential of the people's burgeoning political consciousness and to direct it into the proper channels for the economic and cultural rebirth of the republic. They have proved incapable also of directing the independence movements along a path of political and national agreement, which today is a vital necessity for the people. This is attested to likewise by the results of elections of Armenian SSR deputies in a number of rayons and in the city of Yerevan.

Many representatives of our intelligentsia have not been able to play the important roles they should in creating a healthy political and moral climate in the republic. Despite the broadest conditions of glasnost, pluralism, and power in the hands of the people, some of them have shown timidity, yielding the stage to various homespun political theoreticians and self-taught students of history

who are imbuing events of past and present with an arbitrary emotional aura as they exploit them for the purpose of populist opportunism. This demagoguery does not help to orient our people strategically, to stabilize their political faith, or establish the new thinking.

It is understandable that under these conditions the formation of public opinion should be subject to the influence of spontaneous forces, interacting upon one another, so that all clear-cut lines of definition are lost, precipitating an extremely tense moral and psychological situation. Thus ochlocracy, or mob rule, in effect, replaces the power of the people.

We cannot lose sight of one other important question. How did it happen that this movement, which began two and a half years ago, lost its national and political—its social and moral—significance and perceptibly deteriorated? How did it happen that certain representatives of our people, who for centuries had linked their national independence and salvation with Russia, today succumb to anti-Russian sentiments? Of course, without denying the confusion in our activities, it must be acknowledged that the center bears a substantial share of the blame. The leaders of the country, who did not assess correctly the potential consequences of a confrontation by those who had become disillusioned in the region, failed to work out a fundamental policy position and achieve a political solution of the Artsakh problem in accordance with the Constitution.

Another important matter. We cannot explain to the people why it is that until now the leadership of the country has failed to respond to the appeal issued by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet in connection with condemning the genocide of Armenians by Osmanli Turks in 1915. The USSR Supreme Soviet has not even found it expedient to review a request by the parliament of a sovereign republic. Moreover, the center has assumed an indifferent attitude with regard to new depredations against the Army in Sumgait, Gyandzh, Baku, and other areas of Azerbaijan, as well as to a decree issued by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, requesting the highest organs of power in the country to make a political assessment of these depredations and punish those responsible for them.

As a result the faith of the Armenian people in the central organs has been shaken, and a large number of people have experienced anti-party sentiments. History will render its own impartial evaluation.

Nevertheless, we are not entitled to make new mistakes by giving in to emotions and spontaneous forces. In view of the atmosphere of political egotism and confrontation that prevails in the republic, we must strive to maintain a dialogue with public associations and organizations, and with all the viable forces of the people, for the purpose of achieving national concord and consolidation. This internal dissension and confrontation at a time of crisis nationwide baldly betrays the true interests

of our people and is inconsistent with our national goals. All of us, all the vital elements of the Armenian people, within the republic and overseas, and all its public organizations must act in concert to find a way out of this crisis for the republic and for the further progress of our people.

The task, it would seem, is clear and understandable to everyone. Yet there are people who in words champion the unification of our people, but in their ill-considered actions and behavior subject it to danger. Unwise decisions are made in matters that require sober, balanced, and at times diplomatic judgment.

Today a comprehensive analysis should be made of all aspects of our life together with a correct assessment of all errors and omissions, both past and present. While refraining from extremes in the approaches that we take today, we should not reject any values that are vitally important to us. There are people who, as you know, at public meetings as well as in the press, try to cast communists in the role of the enemy.

Comrades! The present national awakening and resurgence of national dignity and self-awareness must be guided into channels of practical effort in pursuit of intellectual and cultural goals commensurate with the achievements of mankind as a whole. Our highest objective should be to create the conditions in which to bolster the status of the Armenian language as the official state language and to cultivate the flowering of our science and culture. To address the urgent tasks that we face, it is incumbent upon us to use our full potential for the advancement of learning.

Placing a high value on the role of the Armenian Apostolic Church in the history of our people, we should promote in every way possible its patriotic activities.

To achieve a genuine rapprochement between Armenians at home and abroad, it is imperative to have a specific program of action, the implementation of which could perhaps be expedited by passage of the Armenian SSR Law of Citizenship.

The lessons of our time once again serve to remind us of the enormous role that television and the press play in the formation of public opinion. There have been quite a few occasions when the political situation in the republic has been acutely disturbed by some sort of ill-considered article in the press. What is being said is of particular importance today at a time when a considerable share of the official and non-official organizations have their own press organs. As is only to be expected, these organs criticize the republic government leadership and the Communist Party as well in every way possible. We are not afraid of criticism, if it is constructive and just. However, the non-official press sometimes goes to extremes and leads the reader astray by attempting to blacken the reputation of the party and accusing the present generation of communists of every mortal sin in the book. And what about our party press? It remains shamefully silent, pretending not to notice what is going



on. A situation arises now and then when a point of view, which is of interest to the public and which is based on a profound analysis of events, by the pitiful logic of these sad times is interpreted as a form of dissent and cannot make its way successfully into the newspaper pages.

Many organs of our press and television are lacking in far-sighted political acumen, and they are lacking to some degree, if you will, in diplomacy. To acquire enemies is easy—it is far more difficult to hold on to friends and win new ones.

One more thing. The Armenian press is not in the habit of being coy with readers and prefers to speak the truth, no matter how bitter a truth it may be. Yet what is the situation today? The organs of the press, radio, and television, it would seem, are trying to outdo one another in praise of their own people, extolling their accomplishments while underscoring their well-known virtues.

The last two or three years, which have been fraught with ambiguous and contradictory occurrences, should have helped us to reach some appropriate conclusions about ways to overcome the difficult situation that has arisen. The situation might have been improved by a properly oriented public opinion; that is, by the sober voice of our intelligentsia, which today is not fully doing its part.

It is not going to be easy to lead our people through the trials that lie ahead. But that is precisely the fate that has befallen our party. As they confront the issue of the present crisis, the people have high hopes for the activities of the newly elected parliament. It is incumbent on us to begin the establishment of government under law by working out at the earliest opportunity and adopting new laws designed to help settle the crisis. We can no longer postpone passage of legislation with regard to our sovereignty, economic independence, a multi-party system, rights of citizenship, land reform, language, and many other issues. These are issues that should be on the agenda of the first session of the Supreme Soviet.

Comrades! The heart of the draft platform submitted for your consideration is the effort to resolve both short-term and long-term tasks facing our people that pertain to the respect and protection of those political and socio-economic rights which underlie and secure the freedom of the individual.

The situation that has developed in the republic with respect to social services is cause for extreme concern. Among the priority tasks of the Armenian Communist Party will be the provision of food supplies for the population, together with a marked improvement in housing construction, health, trade, domestic services, and the normalization of the consumer market, supplementing supplies by strengthening the private sector of the economy.

A subject of our untiring concern will be meeting the needs of the growing generation in terms of further development in the fields of education, science, and culture. It is our duty to create an environment in which

a high degree of education and professionalism form the basis and content of our national patterns of thought and action.

The republic must have a balanced demographic policy in effect, creating reliable conditions for the population to reproduce itself at a normal rate, while efficiently using the labor resources available.

Special consideration must be given to rendering multi-purpose priority assistance to refugees and other disadvantaged groups, including those with disabilities, orphans, the elderly, single women, young families as well as those with multiple children, and veterans of war and labor.

For all of this we need to create, above all, the necessary economic preconditions—about which much has been said but little so far has been done.

An alarming situation has emerged in the economy of the country. Whereas the economic reforms taking place in the country as a whole are aimed at curbing the overall crisis, here we must simultaneously cope with the extraordinarily difficult task of restoring elements of the economy that have been destroyed, while preventing the further exacerbation of social tensions.

The current conservative, hesitant, and half-way measures being undertaken by the Armenian CP Central Committee and the republic government are not in keeping with the situation that has arisen. We need new policy approaches. The time has long since come not only to pose the issues but to address the question of how to deal with them. How do we create economically independent producers? How can we stimulate free enterprise? How can we gear economic activity to meet the needs of the people, while maintaining a clear-cut functional relation between producer and consumer? How do we expedite a free-market economy, while providing reliable safeguards for the people's social protection? How can we transform the entire system of political and social control, while radically restructuring the economy, rethinking the entire system of personal and social relations, and alleviating insofar as is possible the painful aspects of the transition period?

The fulcrum for leverage in achieving the solution of all these tasks is the sovereignty of the republic and, related to it, achieving a fundamental turnaround in the economy by affirming the economic independence of Armenia. This does not mean, however, that the Union system of economic administration from above, which has disgraced itself, should be replaced by a republic system run along the same lines. The key task in achieving this transition to a new system of economic relations is to conduct a fundamental review of production relations and forms of property for the purpose of establishing conditions conducive to a free economy.

The entire difficulty lies in how to achieve the transition to these relations while giving sufficient in-depth consideration to the particular situation as it has developed



here. The trouble is that our economy, already strained by abnormalities in its economic ties, an overall structural imbalance, a destabilized monetary system, and heavy financial burdens, is in no position to function under the new conditions, to operate efficiently, or to provide a stable market for the sale of production. In our judgment therefore the working out of a clear, realistic, and feasible program for leading the republic out of the economic crisis and converting to the new productive relations constitutes the fundamental issue of current economic policy. It is essential in this program to limit the stages of the changeover.

The year 1990 is of great significance for us. Above all, it should cause a breakthrough in overcoming the aftereffects of the earthquake. At last, a degree of clarity should be achieved in our relations with the Union republics and other organizations involved in the plan to fulfill the programs in progress. Eight republics have already refused to engage in further relief efforts. The operations of Union organizations in fulfillment of resolutions adopted have been entirely suspended. Either the Union government should take specific steps to remedy this situation, or it should grant the republic the capital investment credits necessary to cover the cost of restoration and construction work at its own expense. Of fundamental importance also in this respect is a maximum effort to tap the domestic potential in order to achieve a sharp rise in the rate of construction within the earthquake zone. This effort is already under way.

An urgent task at the present time is to bring about a radical improvement in the state of the national economy. Labor discipline and responsibility have sunk to an extremely low level. Many people, while neglecting their own responsibilities, claim the right to criticize and at times to censure others. It is unacceptable also to try to blame everything on the blockade. Is this really the only reason for the failure of efforts to produce building materials and complete building construction? In industry, especially in those enterprises subordinate to the Union, shortfalls in deliveries already amount to millions of rubles. We are losing our reputation as a reliable trading partner, and this could have grave consequences. The qualitative as well as quantitative indicators of economic growth have seriously declined in all sectors of the economy. The time for a gradual correction of this situation is past; it is essential now to take radical measures rapidly; for the procedures presently being used to control the economy clearly do not conform to the requirements needed to meet the new tasks.

Understandably, our situation is such that current concerns and problems for a long time to come are going to outweigh global considerations with respect to the national economy. This does not, however, give us the right to move slowly or withdraw from the events going on in the country. The government, including the ministries and departments, must shake off its long state of lethargy and seek the solution of tasks by vigorously transforming our economic life.

The years 1990 and 1991 will witness a fundamental transformation of the republic economy. The basic characteristic of this process will be the gradual formation of free market relations with the establishment of economic independence in the republic. This means denationalizing property ownership to a considerable extent; cultivating a vigorous private enterprise; encouraging innovation; implementing a policy of fundamental land reform; restructuring administrative control; redesigning financial and credit relations; introducing a new tax policy; and social safeguards to protect the rights of the individual. These efforts, however, are proceeding at an intolerably slow pace.

The process of creating conditions in which producers themselves can determine the methods to be used, the forms of property ownership, the structure of administrative control, and the nature of communications is of fundamental significance. It is particularly important to create equitable conditions for diverse forms of ownership, actively encouraging such forms as collective, group, stock, and private ownership.

There should be a substantial change in our attitude towards private property, which today can provide vital incentives to stimulate free private enterprise and thereby balance supply and demand. This form of ownership should find a place particularly in the services sector, in consumer goods production, and in agriculture.

At this stage of economic reform it is essential to achieve without delay the transition to new methods of organizing and controlling production through stock companies, private firms, or consortiums, offering various kinds of union or association based upon the free enterprise of individuals or groups. The development of small and mid-sized enterprises, which are ecologically clean and possess prospects for the future, should be encouraged as much as possible.

Posing a grave challenge is the establishment of a new system for training and retraining of cadres, preparing them psychologically and professionally; the overcoming of universal economic illiteracy; and mastering as soon as possible the ABC's of the new economic relations. Special attention to these matters is assigned to the commission of the Central Committee dealing with socio-economic and ideological issues.

A priority task today is the preparation and adoption of the necessary normative documents and legal statutes pertaining to the regulation and proper functioning of economic relations during the transition period.

At the present time a conceptual scheme of economic independence of the republic has been worked out and submitted for public discussion. However, the designing of practical mechanisms and specific programs, together with the necessary documentation to translate them into action, remains at a very elementary level.

It is expedient that the Supreme Soviet Presidium organize and initiate efforts in this direction prior to the start of activities of the newly elected parliament. These efforts should be based on the principle that in economics not people but laws should regulate economic processes and relations, and that the establishment of the legislative basis for doing so can no longer be delayed.

We should in all seriousness be aware of the fact that our future existence is going to depend on how our economy functions—how we work and utilize our potential. With this in mind, we need to address a host of tasks without further delay. I will single out just a few of them. First of all, we must reach a radically new structural and technological level of production, assuring a high degree of integration within the republic. The establishment of economic independence presupposes a wholly new territorial distribution of production and structuring of industrial sectors. In the first place, it is going to be necessary to place special emphasis upon the most efficient utilization of our potential and our opportunities. This will entail limiting extensive growth and indicators of volume, while stimulating knowledge-intensive production; the full use of natural resources, accompanied by a slowdown and eventual halt in exports of raw materials; and detailed study of the prospects for the future development of communications. At the same time, the interests of environmental protection, of our society, and of the country as a whole merit our full attention. Moreover, the employment of labor resources, the relocation of people, and the further development of our border areas are among the tasks that we must turn to and deal with anew.

Important corrections need to be made in certain areas of specialization to adjust the growth rates of individual branches of industry. Particular emphasis should be given to stimulating scientific and technical advances in order to increase output; organizing the on-site production of copper, molybdenum, and gold; and using in as many ways as possible other natural resources. We must be able to withstand gradually increasing economic competition.

Special consideration should be given to ensuring the stability of the fuel and energy complex. To do this will require the use of non-traditional types of energy as well as the negotiation of long-term agreements to obtain power resources from neighboring republics and other countries. We should make maximum use of our potential for producing hydroelectric power, particularly by exploiting a chain of reservoirs.

Proceeding from the principal task, the strengthening of our economic independence, we need to determine without further delay the manner, the means, and the kind of economic relations we can enter into with other republics and with other countries. We need to work out with them jointly the corrections necessary to the treaty relations already in effect at the Union level.

Our external as well as internal transport facilities need to be reconsidered from an entirely new point of view. The time has come to rethink the geographical position of our republic from the economic standpoint. Without yielding an inch in our democratic struggle for the rights of the Armenian people, it is of the utmost importance to establish mutually profitable economic ties with republic neighbors to the west and south. It is necessary to assess wisely and exploit the position of our republic as a transit area between various regions of the USSR and the Middle East.

Specific steps are already being taken to establish international air transport runs on a regular basis, and the initial results are encouraging.

The people have particularly high hopes in new foreign economic relations. In this area something is being done, but not nearly enough so far. We have already undertaken some practical measures in this regard. There are plans to create a flexible system of republic management of foreign economic relations and to implement on a businesslike basis the concept of an economic free zone. A special decree has been passed by the Union government to create preferential conditions for the republic's foreign economic ties. These measures, together with the creation of the necessary subdivisions for the vigorous development of free enterprise in our foreign economic relations, will serve as an incentive for the gradual transition to an "Open Door" policy. They will also help to attract foreign capital, and they will expedite our appearance in the international market.

The cornerstone of our economic policy, however, is what we do to overcome the food problem. The draft platform contains an approach in principle to the solution of this problem. One of the priority tasks in the agro-industrial complex as a whole and, above all, in rural agriculture should be improving economic relations. The Armenian CP Central Committee places special emphasis upon various forms of property ownership in rural areas. Whether owned by the state, by cooperatives, or by individuals, whether run by families on a contractual or rental basis, all forms must have equal opportunities. The individual who works the land is to be given broad rights and complete freedom to choose for himself the form of property ownership. The right to possess land is to be given over to the local soviets, and the right to cultivate the land will be the prerogative of individuals and of collectives as well as of the state. All persons desiring land shall receive it. This will do a great deal to relieve the housing and food problems.

Today we must save the rural village. We must help to save it by establishing normal conditions for life and work and by assuring an equitable exchange of goods. Herein lie the basic conditions for providing people with the necessary means of subsistence.

Comrades! Right now, in this complex and contradictory situation, when our republic stands at the threshold of

fundamental reforms, much is required of each person in terms of responsibility and civic courage. It is necessary to rise above egotistical striving and apply all the strength and resources at one's disposal to address the tasks that confront our people and republic. Our conception of democracy is not simply freedom and rights but, functionally related to them, a sense of responsibility, self-discipline, and strict observance of the laws.

At the same time, we believe that it is necessary to demonstrate a maximum of intelligence in determining program policy approaches. It is common knowledge that there are no simple and unambiguous answers to the innumerable complex questions posed by life. And those today who take malicious pleasure at each undertaking, falsely informing public opinion and resorting to a futile course of confrontation, are providing grist for the mill of those who envision the future of the Armenian people in dark colors.

Naturally, the draft platform that has been submitted cannot be a panacea for all our ills or answer all our unresolved questions. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that on the whole the Armenian CP Central Committee's draft platform can serve as the basis for additional efforts as a result of which we shall obtain a coherent, consolidated, and concrete program.

The people expect of us swift and decisive change. They are tired of the unstable situation and the unusual difficulties. Naturally, as they compare their expectations with what has actually been carried out, the people are voicing their just dissatisfaction. We understand this. But for the last two months we have been laboring steadily, virtually every hour of the day, under extreme conditions. On one side, these conditions have been brought about by various kinds of provocations, internal conflicts, and ill-considered actions; on the other side, by extremely aggravated problems and cares that have been accumulating and piling up for many years.

The complexity of the situation does not allow us to translate thought into action in a precise and speedy manner. This does not give us the moral right, however, to make impulsive decisions, guided by no more than public appeals, or to go in for sensationalism and instantaneous effects. To attempt to guide the republic through turbulent times while at the same time succumbing to the power of emotions is extremely dangerous. Our descendants will not forgive the efforts of certain persons to incite bloodshed as they engage in demonstrations of patriotism—some of which are appropriate, others inappropriate.

We have quite a few examples of genuine patriotism, but there could be even more of them. Those who are disturbed by the fate of the people are exerting their efforts to find a reasonable way out of the situation that has developed, which is by no means an easy thing to do.

It was only with great difficulty that we managed to rescue the republic from the blockade and through negotiations to halt the bloodshed.

We regard as an important objective the achievement of a national consensus, along with the necessity of maintaining an active dialogue concerning fundamental principles with all movements and organizations, official and unofficial. The interests of the people must provide the basis of these talks. Preparations are under way to convene a national forum. An approach has been made to working out an independent program and charter for the future of the Armenian Communist Party that will extend intra-party democracy.

New approaches have also been fashioned to achieve fundamental transformations in the economy. As already noted, the Union government has already passed a special decree on the conversion of the Armenian economy to the new principles in order to establish favorable conditions for free enterprise zones. This will help substantially in overcoming the current crisis. Moreover, it was by no means easy to accomplish.

We have fashioned an entirely new program for the production of copper in the republic. It is one which will give us within the next three years an opportunity to earn about 120 million U.S. dollars annually in exports, while at the same time, in joint cooperation with French and British firms, laying the groundwork for a new, ecologically clean copper-smelting industry.

New steps have been taken to improve the design of the overall system for managing the republic's economy, substantially cutting back on both the party and administration apparatus, while replenishing skilled workers and creating mechanisms geared to the new situation.

The disposition of the republic's entire resources for overcoming the effects of the earthquake has been considerably improved, and the entire system for managing this complex process has been reviewed.

Specific measures for switching to the new productive relations and carrying out land reform are being carried out.

We are all extremely concerned with the problem of stepping-up the campaign to curb violations of the law and maintain public order. A number of changes in the law enforcement organs are called for to bring about a marked improvement in their work and to reverse the trend in this important field of responsibility.

We are well aware that very little has been done so far with respect to the situation that has developed. In certain matters, particularly personnel matters, a lack of decision-making and unjustified delay has been evident. We are obligated to remedy this situation as soon as possible by taking specific steps in this direction.

The elections of people's deputies have not yet been completed; the old parliament is no longer in session; and the new one has yet to be seated. During this extremely difficult transition period it is incumbent upon us to rise above personal and group interests, and

to halt any further escalation of tension, while promoting in every way possible a return to normal conditions.

It is our duty to maintain a resolute policy, to correctly assess the situation as it unfolds, and to foster the formation of an independent, strong, and united Armenian Communist Party, whose actions are guided by new operating procedures and principles.

**Armenian CP Second Secretary on Caucasus, Bid for Russian CP Leadership**

90US1203A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
11 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with Oleg Ivanovich Lobov, Armenian CP Second Secretary, by Zoriy Balayan and Natalya Zenova; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Correspondent] For approximately 20 minutes a tall, calm, smiling man stood at the rostrum and we attentively listened to his words. And then this party functionary, who is pretty much unknown in the broad community, up and garnered 1,066 votes during the balloting and almost became the head of the Communist Party of Russia. Was this success, so amazing by current times and standards, an accident? And one other thing: was he really able to achieve in 20 minutes of open dialog with the audience what others, despite how much they have tried, could not achieve in 20 years?

So, Oleg Ivanovich Lobov. The unpredictable and the predictable.

The candidate for first secretary himself told us how he found himself on the "examination" rostrum of the congress. Let us briefly recall. In just another half hour he—at that point in Moscow—would already have been on the way to the airport. And from there to Yerevan. A telephone call changed both Lobov's route and his agenda, so to speak.

It was 21 July. At 1700 hours he entered the hall, where the battle for the right to become the leader of the Russian party was already in full swing.

[Correspondent] What were you thinking of at that moment?

[Lobov] That if I was suddenly invited up to the rostrum, I would refuse the invitation.

[Correspondent] Why?

[Lobov] Because I already realized I would be unable to talk not only with my colleagues in Yerevan, where I work as second secretary of the CP Central Committee, but even with the Sverdlovsk citizens who nominated me.

[Correspondent] But why would you need to do that—talk with Yerevan?

[Lobov] To remain an honest man. I was supposed to personally inform the Armenian CP Central Committee

about what happened, and consult with comrades. Now if I had worked 5 years, say, I would have the moral right to decide everything myself. Even then I would have consulted with them. But here, when I've been working for less than 2 years, I certainly would. So I was lucky, on the first day my turn did not come up. And I managed to talk with everybody.

[Correspondent] Did you wish to withdraw your candidacy?

[Lobov] Yes, if Ryzhkov, Maslyukov, and Bakatin remained on the candidates' list, as was assumed. But when I saw that Polozkov was heading directly for the finish line, I decided to fight to the end.

[Correspondent] Lobov should be familiar to the readers of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. The flywheel of perestroika had just gathered speed when it became known that the truly tragic problem of abandoned settlements and villages would finally be resolved in Sverdlovsk Oblast. For a long time we writers and publicists had been suggesting that the empty houses in the abandoned countryside, forgotten by God, the party, and Soviet power, be sold to townspeople. To those very people who were just genetically unable to break with peasant life and become urban people. We wrote, we made noise, we shouted, we cunningly cited party documents of the Brezhnev period. And no one can say that our efforts were in vain. For perestroika did not fall from heaven like manna. A whole generation plowed the future ground. And it is no accident that it was in the initial period of the new political times that people began to make what these very "plowmen of perestroika" had perhaps shouted of most concrete. As our newspaper wrote on 20 May 1987, "Intelligent people have finally been found, and the village 'dacha dweller' has become legitimate." Among the "intelligent people" for whom the land was a living soul, LG [LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] named B.N. Yeltsin, then first secretary of the Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom, and O. I. Lobov, chairman of the obispolkom.

LG returned to Oleg Lobov again a year later. The long article by Pavel Volin entitled "The Nevyan Miracle" cited an official letter written by the deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers as an illustrating argument. Readers had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the content of this rare document. Here I would like to cite a short comment by the author of the article: "The letter, in my opinion, is surprising in its humane expressions and content. How much pain and anxiety it contains for the fate of the transformations occurring in our country! 'All Russia needs your experience.' Don't you agree, we don't encounter such expressions in strictly official correspondence very often."

Oleg Lobov was in the disaster zone from the first days of the Armenian tragedy and headed the Russian group of rescuers and builders. And his biography, which is rich in geographic names and human fates, is augmented by

the unique lesson of the national drama created by the unbridled catastrophe which lasted 20 seconds on 7 December 1988.

Lobov visited almost every one of the 400 populated points which suffered from the earthquake, most often with the leaders of the country and the republic. But he was not lost in the crowd of people. People noticed him everywhere, just as he was noticed at the rostrum of the Russian party congress. And he said little, he talked quietly and posed more questions rather than answered them. Are they right when they say: a leader who allows himself to open press conferences at every stop and is prepared to answer all and any questions is doomed?

Lobov talked about one of his principles at the rostrum of the congress: "When I start a job, beginning when I was an ordinary engineer, I consider it to be the last job I'll have, to avoid having a complex." And he has a lot of "his own" principles. Do they help in life? Was he able to achieve any blessings for himself, his family, his children?

[Lobov] I did not aim for anything like that. I have a wife, two daughters, and a son. And two grandsons for now. I did not earn money for cars, videorecorders, or dachas either for myself or for my children. And, I don't feel at all worse off for it. I do not like big words like 'sense of duty.' But I understand that a man must not be without these very feelings. Especially now. For today as never before we need to try to answer a great many why's.

[Correspondent] O. I. Lobov recently published an article in the newspaper KOMMUNIST which began with a list of these "why's": "Today people are talking a lot about what can save the world. Some people put their trust in force, some in scientific-technical progress, and some in charity and art, new movements and parties, or a different social order. Meanwhile wars and economic catastrophes continue to shake the world and human losses from the forces of nature pale in comparison to those artificially created by man himself. Even the tragic consequences of the earthquake were also caused by certain defects in human activity. Why are people aggressive; why do they destroy those like them? Why do some people believe this is valor, and others—a crime? Why does the hero who dropped the first atom bomb later go crazy? Why does the inventor of the atomic bomb who spent the best years of his life creating it, fight vigorously to ban it in his declining years, when his strength is not what it used to be. One can continue such 'why's' indefinitely."

The second secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, candidate of technical sciences, and honored builder of the RSFSR (that is how Lobov signed the article "Man and Experience") is attempting to find answers by relying on the experience of mankind and his own experience brought from Sverdlovsk where in building a culture and sports event complex he tried to destroy not only interdepartmental barriers but in the

literal sense of the word the barriers which divide children and adults and fathers and sons. In general Lobov remembers Sverdlovsk at nearly every step. And we naturally could not help but deal with the Urals period of his life.

[Correspondent] You were asked at the congress how the joint work with Yeltsin influenced you. For you were together for 30 years. As his deputy when he was the obkom department chief and the chief of the Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises Urals administration and in the obkom when Yeltsin provided guidance for construction. You were the second secretary of the obkom when Boris Nikolayevich was the first. And, finally, close, side by side: one headed the obkom and the other the obispolkom. The question was asked directly. And in answering it you could have thrown dust in their eyes. Why didn't you do that?

[Lobov] Generally speaking, I would today edit many of my answers ex post facto. I would have said it more clearly and precisely. As for Yeltsin, I simply did not allow myself to expand on that, bearing in mind our many years of joint work. But I cannot forgive myself for not naming perhaps one of the best of my teachers in the list of leaders with whom I worked, Nikolay Vasilyevich Goldin, the former head of the USSR Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises.

[Correspondent] The delegate S. F. Kavun, chief of the political department of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Volga Region internal troops administration, preceded his appeal to you with the words that the blood of his comrades and the tears of mothers forced him to ask—"Do you have a moral right to vote for yourself for the post of first secretary of our Russian Communist Party after the death of so many Russian boys in Armenia with the direct connivance of local authorities, including yours?" And when you said that only one soldier died on the territory of Armenia in the last 2 years, the hall got noisy. Taking into account that this motif is being inflated in our country and even abroad, introducing certain sentiments in society, especially in Russian-Armenian relations, and considering the fact that the person who posed the question did not agree with you, I would like to hear your explanation.

[Lobov] Still today I must say that the death of even one person is a terrible grief and a tragedy. But I agree, clarification is needed, for we are talking of a trend of really sick sentiments created above all by distorted information and sometimes even disinformation.

Knowing that the question arose in connection with the well-known events in Yerevan on 27 May, I said that one soldier had died. But several hundred people, soldiers among them, have died in the 2 years of aggravations in the Transcaucasus Region. I think that it is time to publish the complete statistics. Only the truth can put an end to all kinds of rumors and fabrications. According to data published in the central newspapers, 37 soldiers

were killed from 19 January through 18 June. Unfortunately, soldiers died before 19 January too. And there were also reports about them in the press. But only one died on the territory of Armenia. Another died as a result of a wound. One of the newspapers reported that on 3 February 1990 "148 people died in the Azerbaijani SSR and Armenia during the state of emergency." The next day the newspaper was forced to make a correction: "There were no dead in Armenia."

I cited the figures published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and IZVESTIYA when I answered that very delegate to the congress S. F. Kavun, who announced in front of the microphone: "From the newspapers everyone knows how many died." So he was right in his own way, and I may consider that the "noise in the hall" in response to my information was the result of lack of information or, I repeat, disinformation.

[Correspondent] You have been in the ranks of the CPSU for almost 20 years. And in professional party work for eight of them. Today the fate of the party with which you linked your fate is being decided in the literal sense of the word (taking into account that the party congress is now underway). What do you think the future of the CPSU will be?

[Lobov] I must honestly confess that this future has already begun. Eighty-seven percent of the USSR people's deputies are communists. And, essentially, it is the communists who rescinded the Sixth Article of the Constitution. That is, the question of power, or more precisely, "of the leading and directing force" has already been decided. Life itself has brought us to a multiparty system. Time will tell which of the parties has chosen the correct path of development. Personally I am convinced that we must think not of what our country will be like tomorrow, but of what a person will be like in our country.

[Reprinted from LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 4 July 1990]

#### **Official Explains Armenian Election Commission Activities**

90US1164A Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian  
26 Jun 90 p 1

[Interview with Armenian Komsomol Central Committee Secretary Ovsep Mikhaylovich Petrosyan by correspondent M. Diloyan: "What Is the Central Electoral Commission Doing?"]

[Text] To say that it was hard for Armenian Komsomol Central Committee Secretary Ovsep Petrosyan to make time for an interview with a KOMSOMOLETS correspondent is not saying much. His numerous responsibilities have now been compounded for over a month with the difficult responsibilities of being a member of the central electoral commission, which takes up all of his working and free time.

[Diloyan] Ovsep Mikhaylovich, what is happening today behind the "closed doors" of the central election commission?

[Petrosyan] I wouldn't call the doors of the central electoral commission closed, even in quotation marks. Numerous voters, members of district electoral commissions and agents of candidates attend the meetings. There are many complaints from different electoral districts. As a member of the central electoral commission, I also take part in examining the complaints and various disputes. We then bring them up for examination on the basis of the results of studying these issues.

In the present stage, following the runoffs of 3 June, at the threshold of the repeat elections, as many as 148 deputies have been registered, and there are complaints and disputes concerning 30 districts, some of which are being studied by us and the rest of which have been transferred to city, rayon and republic procurators for examination.

Decisions have already been made on some of them—objective ones from my point of view, within the framework of the Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the Armenian SSR.

[Diloyan] What in your estimation are the most typical violations of the election law, among those you have investigated?

[Petrosyan] First of all, contrary to the provision of the law that every voter must participate personally in elections, many complaints of violation of this provision are being submitted. This happens primarily in rural areas, where one member of a family votes for the entire family, or something like that.

Handwriting analysis and the conclusions of experts are often required in such cases, but this is not always realistic. If we were to check all doubtful cases, the elections could drag on for a year, and perhaps even more.

There have been unsettling cases of ballot thefts.

[Diloyan] What is your opinion, does the election law need reworking?

[Petrosyan] Yes. Consider for example that the central electoral commission had to ask the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet to explain some points in Article 53 of the election law, which discusses runoffs and repeat elections. Do candidates who did not receive the required number of votes have the right to take part in repeat elections? The appropriate clarification was given, but this fact itself shows that specific imperfections do exist. There is also confusion, for example, in regard to a voter recall of a deputy candidate.

Today we are faced with the fact that many voter rolls are inconsistent with the way things really are. The law foresees that the rolls must be posted for public inspection 15 days prior to an election, but this rule was not

observed in many of the districts, and many of the rolls were updated only after the elections. In my opinion there should be a clearer statement in the law as to the deadline for updating the rolls. We are now examining a rather large number of matters just such as these.

[Diloyan] Will we be able to avoid the typical shortcomings experienced in the repeat elections of 15 July, and in general, how do you feel they will go?

[Petrosyan] I think that there will be problems in conducting repeat elections in many districts. The republic's Supreme Soviet has not yet reconsidered the date of the local soviet elections, but they are coming up on 8 July. This will create certain difficulties. There are other objective difficulties as well—ones concerning agricultural workers, summer vacations, students. In particular, in Yerevan I had to consider a matter in the 69th Electoral District of Sovetskiy Rayon. This district includes a student housing area. Most of the students—several thousand persons—will not be there on 15 July, and this could have a very serious influence on the election. But I am counting very much on the consciousness of our voters.

[Diloyan] Ovsep Mikhaylovich, although you were involved in the elections last month, you probably did not forget that you are also the secretary of the republic's Komsomol Central Committee, and you probably maintained an interest in candidates who were Komsomol members, and generally in young deputy candidates.

[Petrosyan] The elections probably disappointed not only me but also most of my associates, and most members of our Komsomol who nominated their own candidates. As of today only two persons out of those nominated by city and rayon Komsomol committees have been elected—two secretaries of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee. But over 40 of our deputy candidates took part in the elections. I think that some of them will still prove themselves during the local soviet elections, and I'm certain that some of them will win—a certain amount of experience has now been accumulated. Judging from everything, many of our candidates understated the complexity and importance of this campaign, they joined the fight late, and they were unable to form an appropriate team that could conduct the election campaign at the required level. The fact that our organization's authority had been shaken in the last few years did of course have an effect as well. Not only was it shaken, it even fell, and we do not deny this.

This is now a time of serious reorganization of all of the republic's Komsomol organizations; much is being changed, beginning with the organization's name. I think that we will fight again for seats in the parliament, we will try to create a youth bloc in the republic's supreme legislative body.

In principle, from my point of view the new parliament will be younger than the former one (although I have not yet analyzed the data), and one can hope that the attitude toward youth problems will be "sympathetic."

Besides that, I think that our youth is exercising its voting rights, and that it will pose its problems, express its demands and present its mandates by way of its deputies—not Komsomol deputies, but those elected in the districts in which they had voted.

[Diloyan] You mentioned the procuracy and criminally punishable acts in connection with the elections.

[Petrosyan] There are unfortunately very many cases requiring investigation and intervention by law enforcement organs. Criminal proceedings have been initiated in some instances. The enquiry will show the extent to which the violations that were committed may be qualified as being criminal. As I mentioned earlier, there have been cases of forged signatures of voters, and thefts of election documents.

[Diloyan] Were there cases of pressure on voters?

[Petrosyan] Yes, there were complaints like that as well. There was pressure on precinct and district electoral commissions. And even on the central electoral commission. The agents of one of the candidates get together and demand an objective investigation; but by doing so, they hinder the commission's work. This in my opinion is impermissible. There were cases in which campaigning was conducted and people appeared bearing arms during elections. There were complaints that in some election precincts the polling places were left unmonitored, albeit for a short period of time (times of 10-15 minutes are cited). Commotions and chaos were induced, and what happened during these moments, how many ballots were deposited and how many signatures were affixed, no one is clearly able to say.

[Diloyan] Excuse my curiosity, but what are you doing at this moment, what cases and investigations are you involved in?

[Petrosyan] We are examining complaints from two districts in Oktemberyanskiy Rayon—the 208th and 210th, from the 129th district in the city of Echmiadzin, and from the 197th Akhtalskiy electoral district of Tumanyanskiy Rayon. I do not want to anticipate the events, and talk about what happened there. Other members of the commission and I will try to analyze all of them objectively. Let me say only that this is a very complex process; dozens and hundreds of people have to be interviewed, and new facts and new statements are perpetually surfacing. Documents are not always drawn up and violations are not always documented promptly everywhere, and in order to recreate the true meaning of an event, we have to work almost like sleuths.

[Diloyan] Could you provide a general description of the elections, of the violations that have occurred, and of the entire process?

[Petrosyan] I think that such a generalized picture would be possible only after the second round of elections on 15 July is completed—there are to be repeat elections in almost 80 districts, after all.



**Armenian Finance Minister on Use of Donated Foreign Funds in Quake Recovery**

90US1164B Yerevan *KOMMUNIST in Russian*  
28 Jun 90 p 2

[Article by R. Karagezian: "What Hard Currency Is Being Spent On"]

[Text] Many citizens of the republic, including those who suffered from the earthquake, would like to know the fate of hard currency sent from foreign countries for the earthquake recovery efforts.

To clarify the true state of affairs involving the receipt and use of foreign currency, an Armenpress correspondent asked Armenian SSR Minister of Finances Dzhanik Artashesovich Dzhanoyan to inject some clarity into this matter, and to explain how much hard currency entered Armenia in support of earthquake recovery efforts, and on what measures it is being spent.

"As of 1 June of this year, 34,254,500 in nonconvertible rubles, including 20,052,000 in hard currency, were sent from foreign countries to the earthquake relief fund," the minister said.

Although this sum is significantly less than the billions allocated by the union government, by ministries and departments, by fraternal republics, by our country's public organizations and by all Soviet people, nonetheless we are sincerely grateful to the entire world community for its charity and humanity it has shown to our republic and its stricken people. Material assistance was provided to us by the governments of a number of foreign states, by religious, charitable and public organizations, by individual companies and firms, and by private individuals. This is why we are being extremely careful with the assets we have received. We are using them on specific and necessary measures with the goal of achieving a high payoff.

Hard currency is being utilized on the basis of a decision of the republic Council of Ministers, with the consent of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Observance of Social Justice and Glasnost in the Expenditure of Assets Collected for Armenian Earthquake Relief.

Literally last week the government made a decision at the request of the Armenian SSR Gosstroy to allocate hard currency equivalent to 720,000 nonconvertible rubles to purchase products from West Germany's Khilti [transliteration]. Small mechanized tools, spare parts for them and instruments to be used in recovery operations within the earthquake zone are being acquired from this firm through the republic's Armenintorg Foreign Trade Association.

Many examples of this sort can be cited. For example this year 50 cement mixers worth 1,936,000 nonconvertible rubles were purchased from the GDR in spring of this year for construction organizations of the Armenian SSR Gosstroy. They are required in monolithic housing

construction and in other construction jobs. And last year equipment valued at 320,000 nonconvertible rubles was acquired from West Germany's Yanoge [transliteration] to reinforce buildings and structures within the earthquake zone. Computer equipment valued at 604,000 nonconvertible rubles is being acquired for the republic's main planning institutes in order to outfit their automated planning systems. In the near future this equipment will be delivered from France's Dzhiksi [transliteration].

Significant acquisitions have already been made in behalf of enterprises and organizations of the republic's State Agroindustrial Committee. As of today, 7,661,000 in nonconvertible rubles has already been spent on them. Of this amount, 1,300,000 nonconvertible rubles were allocated this year for the acquisition of production equipment from leading West German companies in order to outfit the republic's meat processing industry.

We are acquiring a dry animal feed production line from Czechoslovakia's Tekhnopol [transliteration] for 6 million in nonconvertible rubles. This line takes the form of an ecologically clean production shop. It will go to work in the Leninakan Meat Packing Combine.

We have paid 300,000 in nonconvertible rubles for the acquisition of spare parts to the powerful Kamatsu Japanese bulldozers working in the earthquake zone.

The republic established contacts with well known Italian firms in order to sharply increase production of local construction materials used in construction and recovery operations in the earthquake zone and to develop the production base of the Armpromstroymaterialy Association further. We have purchased quarrying and rock sorting machines for 3,200,000 in nonconvertible rubles and construction machinery worth 2 million in nonconvertible rubles from them.

"I should note," said Armenian SSR Minister of Finances Dzh. Dzhanoyan in conclusion, "that foreign monetary assistance is being used to develop a number of sectors of the republic's national economy and to create various kinds of production operations. For example 1,425,000 nonconvertible rubles were spent on the acquisition of equipment for the Leninakan Children's Toy Plant of the Armenian SSR Ministry of Local Industry. Sewing machines and special machine tools were purchased in the GDR for this enterprise.

Thermosoftening plastic apparatus was also acquired in the GDR. It will be used to organize production of gas meters in the Armgaz Production Association. We have paid 300,000 nonconvertible rubles for this equipment. Seven hundred thousand nonconvertible rubles were allocated for the purchase of devices from Swedish companies by which to vacuum pack tricots and clothing. These devices will be put to use at light industry enterprises in Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak and other cities.



Equipment worth 450,000 nonconvertible rubles was purchased from Western companies in order to develop Leninakan's radio and television network. A studio under construction in this city will be furnished with this equipment. One million in nonconvertible rubles was transferred to companies in the GDR for polygraphic equipment to be furnished to printing offices in the disaster zone.

The republic's Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services was allocated 350,000 nonconvertible rubles. Equipment to be used for internal insulation of steel tubing and to find leaks during emergency recovery operations in water and sewage systems within the earthquake zone was purchased for this amount.

Firms in the GDR received 1,170,000 in nonconvertible rubles to support the needs of the republic's State Committee for Personal Services. These funds were allocated to the design and construction of a ready-to-operate mechanized laundry in Leninakan, and for acquisition of equipment for a dry cleaning factory in the earthquake zone.

Certain expenditures were also made in behalf of the public health system and other sectors of the national economy. Around 22 million in nonconvertible rubles has already been spent; the rest of the money is in Account No 700412 in the Yerevan branch of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Relations.

### Armenian Refugee Committee Work Scored

90US1138A Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
22 Jun 90 p 2

[Armenpress article, under rubric "At the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers:" "Serious Shortcomings in the Work of the Armenian SSR State Committee for Receiving and Setting Up Returning Armenians"]

[Text] The serious shortcomings and omissions in the work of providing everyday and social services for refugees from Azerbaijan SSR became an object of discussion at a session of the republic's Council of Ministers.

The government, having considered the work of the Armenian SSR State Committee for Receiving and Setting Up Returning Armenians, noted that the work linked with the problems of refugees, who constitute more than 250,000 persons, is being carried out extremely unsatisfactorily.

The State Committee (Comrade G. G. Azatyan) has failed to develop a republic program for finding permanent housing and jobs for persons who were deported from the neighboring republic, and there is a lack of coordination in the actions aimed at resolving these questions.

In the document that was adopted, it is emphasized that the State Committee that has been called upon to organize the work of rendering assistance to the refugees does

not show the proper responsibility in this manner, or the proper initiative in the gradual resolution of the refugees' accumulated problems.

There has been a failure here to establish a smoothly operating system to keep records on those who have migrated or to monitor the resolution of the questions for each of them. As a result of the State Committee's unsatisfactory organizing work, many decisions made by the republic government with regard to refugee questions remain unfulfilled. Moreover, a situation has developed in the apparatus whereby the direct instructions issued by the leadership of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers are not executed.

It is also noted that the State Committee has not developed a clear-cut system for keeping records on refugees, has not been carrying out their re-registration or any efforts to conduct a questionnaire survey among them, and lacks the necessary data for each rayon and city, with a reflection of the problems that the deported persons are faced with in the outlying areas or the ways to resolve those problems, and this, in its turn, has been restraining the development of a detailed resettlement program for the refugees.

A negative evaluation was given to the work of Armenian SSR Gosstroy [State Committee for Construction], Armenian SSR Gosagroprom [State Agro-industrial Committee] and Gosplan [State Planning Committee], and the ispolkoms of the local rayon and city soviets of people's deputies, which have not been paying sufficient attention to the questions of selecting a location, preparing the general schemes and plans, or developing the design-and-estimate documentation for building cooperative homes for the refugees. There has been an unsatisfactory resolution of the questions of allocating construction plots and the providing of support in the form of building materials, financial means, and machinery and equipment to speed up the construction of individual homes for the republic's new citizens.

Armenian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has not organized any centralized service for issuing temporary identification cards to the refugees. There has been no inventorying of the prefabricated huts and railroad cars that were freed as a result of the construction of housing in the earthquake zone, for the purpose of subsequently transferring them to the area where individual and cooperative housing for refugees is in progress. There has also been no resolution of the questions linked with the providing of additional services for refugees who are located in medical institutions for treatment, or with the organizing of boarding homes for single individuals, elderly refugees, and war and labor veterans.

Armenian SSR State Committee for Receiving and Setting Up Returning Armenians has not yet made any recommendations concerning the structure or the ways to improve the committee's work.

The decisions of Armenian SSR Council of Ministers with regard to the providing of everyday and social

services to the refugees are being fulfilled inefficiently by Armenian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, Armenian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Questions, Armenian SSR Ministry of Social Security, the ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, and the departments of Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

Not all the labor collectives have created the moral-psychological atmosphere of compassion and sympathy for the citizens who were forced to leave their places of permanent residence, or are carrying out work to involve those citizens actively in socially beneficial work.

All this, the adopted document states, is resulting in well-justified discontent and complaints and aggravating people's sense of being socially unprotected and alienated in their historic homeland.

Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has directed the attention of the leadership of Armenian SSR State Committee for Receiving and Setting Up Returning Armenians to the serious shortcomings that exist. It has been decided to satisfy the request of Comrade G. G. Azatin, State Committee chairman, to be relieved of the position that he occupies.

As a result of the lack of discipline that was manifested in the fulfillment of the decisions issued by Armenian SSR Council of Ministers with regard to refugee questions, a reprimand has been issued to Comrade G. G. Vartanyan, deputy chairman of Armenian SSR State Committee for Receiving and Setting Up Returning Armenians.

The document censures the inadmissible delay in fulfilling the decisions issued by Armenian SSR Council of Ministers with regard to refugee questions by the ministries and departments and the ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies.

The government has required the Armenian SSR State Committee for Receiving and Setting Up Returning Armenians, the ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations, and ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies to restructure completely the work of providing everyday and social services for the refugees and of resolving the problems that have accumulated in this matter, and to take effective steps to assure the unconditional fulfillment of the decrees dealing with the rendering of assistance to the refugees.

Taking into consideration the importance of the tasks to be resolved, the government has entrusted the monitoring of the fulfillment of the decree to L. G. Saakyan, first deputy chairman of Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

### **Nikiforov Views Armenian Quake Recovery**

*90US1138B Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
27 Jun 90 p 3*

[Interview with V. M. Nikiforov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, by a KOMMUNIST correspondent: "Goodness and Solidarity"]

[Text] V. M. Nikiforov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, was in our republic to participate in the opening ceremony of the Austrian village in Leninakan. Our correspondent had an interview with him, which we present for our readers' attention.

[KOMMUNIST] Valentin Mikhaylovich, during the very first days after the earthquake you arrived in Armenia. You saw the scope of the tragedy and you yourself took direct part in organizing the international aid for our nation. What is your evaluation of the reasons for such a powerful wave of solidarity with the Armenian nation, a wave that has swept over the entire world since December 1988?

[Nikiforov] In the life of any country, as in the life of every individual, there are events that cannot and must not be forgotten. Your thoughts return involuntarily to them, over and over again, forcing you to make conclusions and to learn lessons that determine your tomorrow.

One of these events in the life of our entire multinational country was the December 1988 tragedy in Armenia.

When the misfortune descended on our house, the entire world came to our rescue. Large and small countries, rich and prosperous ones and the poorest ones, stretched out their hand of assistance to the people of Armenia. And there were many reasons for this. But, it would seem, the main reason lies in the fact that, as a result of our new policy and perestroika, the very image of the Soviet country has changed in the eyes of world public opinion. Instead of a morose and incomprehensible monolith that is threatening the world, people saw that even Soviet people with their misfortunes and tragedies deserve sympathy just as everyone else does. So this is the paradox of the Armenian tragedy. To a considerable degree it promoted a better understanding of the foundations of our new political way of thinking, and an awareness of the fact that we all are, first of all, people and that we must resolve the universally human problems in a human manner, by working together. Those words were heard on 7 December, on the very same day that the catastrophe occurred, and the world also responded on the very same day.

[KOMMUNIST] You have returned to our republic, this time to attend the opening ceremony at the Austrian village. The situation today is different. The first shock and the first, most destructive consequences of the earthquake have been overcome. But, as you look back, could you share the impressions that you had at that time and, possibly, any interesting details concerning the way in which USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs participated in organizing the aid for our republic?

[Nikiforov] Today's event in Leninakan involuntarily caused a wave of reminiscences about what I had seen here in December 1988 and what I apparently will never forget. At that time the airport simultaneously resembled a student campus and a field hospital. The fields on the approach to Leninakan were strewn with fragments of rocks that had fallen from the cliffs. The city was a scene of horror, as though it had just suffered a terrible bombing. Rescue workers were working in the streets, or, rather, where there used to be streets. Right next to the helicopter landing area were coffins, a large number of coffins. People would come up and take them away. All around was a mixture of languages and temperaments. People had come to save people.

I can also remember the first and possibly the most difficult hours and days after the earthquake, which were spent at my work space at MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]. USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs at that time swung immediately into the work of eliminating the consequences of the tragedy, assuming the job of coordinating the acceptance and delivery from abroad of the aid sent to the rayons that had suffered. A special group was created—a kind of "crisis headquarters" headed by the deputy minister, which operated in close contact with the CPSU Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the ministries and departments, and the leadership of Armenia. There was a "hot line" between the union and republic ministries of foreign affairs, and facsimile communication for the immediate transmittal of information.

The effectiveness of the work to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake, especially at the initial stage, depended largely upon the reliable functioning specifically of the chain "USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Armenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs." USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs compiled and processed the specific offers of assistance that came in by way of the foreign representation and immediately transmitted them to the Armenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which took precise action to "allocate" them on the spot. And, it must be said, that connection withstood its tests successfully and operated with practically no interruptions, as was typical in general of the interaction between the union-level and republic-level foreign-policy departments.

At that time, jointly with MGA [Ministry of Civil Aviation], steps were taken to make as easy as possible the requirements concerning flights by foreign transport aviation carrying rescue teams and urgent cargoes. Essentially speaking, "open skies" conditions were established above Armenia. The procedure for issuing visas was simplified, and a system of allowing rescue personnel, doctors, and other specialists to travel practically without visas was created. Shipments for Armenia were registered. Of course it did not prove possible, especially at first, to avoid a certain amount of confusion and delay when shipping them. But we attempted to the best of our ability to correct the situation immediately. Incidentally, we continue to this day to keep an attentive

eye on the way in which the assistance intended for the Armenian nation gets to its destination.

I cannot refrain from expressing some words of regret concerning the recent events in this area. Without going into any evaluations of what has been occurring or the causes of what has been occurring, I shall say just one thing. It is a bitter thing to realize that in other conditions, outside the blockade, even the misfortune caused by the natural calamity would not have been so acute, and the assistance to your land, to the homeland of poets and artists, of people who are good and responsive, could have been more effective.

[KOMMUNIST] What can you say today, 18 months later, concerning the scope of the assistance rendered to Armenia by the world community?

[Nikiforov] When our country was struck by the disaster, the earthquake in Armenia, the entire world responded to the catastrophe. It is impossible to list all the countries—there were 113 of them. Assistance was also provided by seven intergovernmental organizations, a large number of public and religious associations, companies, and corporations, and tens of thousands of people.

A year and a half have passed, but the help continues to come in today. Here are a few of the results of that help.

The total volume of foreign aid offered, with a consideration of the funds allocated specifically for the purpose of remodeling and restoring the disaster areas, was approximately \$600 million. The largest amount of aid in monetary terms was provided by: Italy, \$95 million; West Germany, \$84.5 million; United States, \$42 million; Great Britain, \$38 million; Czechoslovakia, \$34.5 million; East Germany, \$30 million; and France, \$38 million.

I think that it will not be an exaggeration to say that the scope and forms of the aid given to the Armenian nation are completely unprecedented in history. However, today the nature and the content of the international aid have changed noticeably. There has been a softening of the emotional fervor, the sense of emergency has lessened, and one no longer sees the excessive competitiveness and publicity aspects in the aid operations. At the same time one can discern in an increasingly obvious manner the directedness toward long-term cooperation, and not simply in construction, but also in the field of medicine, seismological science, and other spheres.

Plans for the creation of kindergartens, schools, hospitals, entire settlements, and city blocks are in the stage of development and implementation.

And we have already seen the first tangible results. The Italian village—204 small homes in Spitak—has been settled. A network of medical institutions that were built by the French "Doctors of the World" public organization are functioning in Gugarskiy Rayon, and a school

that was built by the Hungarian Red Cross and the Lord Byron School that was given as a gift by the English, are functioning in Leninakan.

Included in this same group is the Austrian village that was opened on 24 June, where more than 100 families of Leninakaners have already settled. Slightly more than a year has passed since the KURIR Austrian newspaper called upon the citizens of its country to collect money for the construction of a housing complex in Leninakan. And the village is already standing, and it has not 50, but more than 100 small homes, a clinic, and a primary school.

The aid continues to come in to this day. Here is one example. You know that, in interaction with the "Finland-Soviet Union" Society and the Finnish Red Cross, SSOD [Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries], SOKKiP [Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies], and the government of Armenian SSR, it is planned to create a recuperation center in Spitak. So, on 15 June of this year, the first column consisting of 11 large-capacity Sovtransavto trucks arrived in Spitak from Finland, carrying construction materials and equipment.

[KOMMUNIST] What long-term conclusions did Ministry of Foreign Affairs make from the experience of eliminating the consequences of this earthquake, with regard to international interaction in emergency situations?

[Nikiforov] First of all, the work experience in overcoming the consequences of major natural calamities such as the earthquake in Armenia, and somewhat later in Tajikistan, demonstrated the importance of international cooperation in this area. The experience obtained in Armenia graphically showed both us and the entire international community the need for coordinating the efforts not only for purposes of rapidly reacting in the event of natural calamities, but also for working on questions that are linked with the elimination of the consequences of the natural calamities, with the long-term restoration of areas that have suffered, and with early prevention of possible cataclysms.

Until recently the cooperation between the USSR and the United Nations institutions in this area was extremely limited. And our aid to other countries was carried out chiefly on a bilateral basis, with practically no coordination within the United Nations framework. However, at the present time there has been a noticeable expansion and increased activity within the framework of cooperation with such international organizations as the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (LOKKiKP), the bureau of the United Nations coordinator for the rendering of aid in the event of natural calamities (UNDRO), the United Nations Organization for Industrial Development (UNIDO), UNESCO, the United Nations Center for Populated Places, etc. As you can see, life itself dictates new approaches.

Soviet citizens have recently learned with profound concern about the strong earthquake in a country that is a neighbor of Armenia's—Iran—which has taken away tens of thousands of lives. The Soviet Union was one of the first to respond to that terrible disaster. As early as Saturday, 23 June, a special Aeroflot flight went to the disaster area, carrying a special detachment of "Spitak" rescue workers from Armenia and doctors from Leninograd. On Monday, 25 June, the Armenian government sent a special plane to Iran, carrying medicine, tents, blankets, work clothing, and other priority items. Aid from the USSR continues to go to Iran. This demonstrates graphically that unity in the face of a disaster is the pledge that people, regardless of the political and social orientation of their countries, are capable of coping with any difficult problems.

It is only by working together than mankind can be victorious over hunger, backwardness, and the threatening pollution of the environment, and can put an end finally to the arms race, that is, to everything that creates a threat to existence itself.

#### **Azerbaijani CP Drafts Platform for Republic Sovereignty**

*[90US1018A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY  
in Russian 22 May 90 pp 1-2]*

[Draft platform of Azerbaijan CP Central Committee for 32d Azerbaijan CP Congress: "For the Complete Sovereignty of the Republic in the New Federation and the Renewal of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan"]

[Text] The Communist Party of Azerbaijan has entered its eighth decade as it approaches its 32d congress. The difficult and winding road the party has traveled is inseparable from the development of our society. What we have today—our national state, our diversified industry and agriculture, and our considerable scientific and cultural potential—are tangible realities.

Today it would be an unacceptable error to nullify the results of the labor of several generations.

Nevertheless, we must not idealize the past or conceal the grim truth about the tragic events in our history and the colossal misfortunes that were caused and are still being caused by the distortion of socialism and the misrepresentation of Lenin's ideas.

The multitude of serious problems in all spheres of republic life, which were not solved over the years, are also realities. We are experiencing economic difficulties. We are worried about the spiritual and moral atmosphere, such social ills as unemployment and poverty, the acute housing shortage, the incompetent medical treatment and substandard educational system, the high rate of infant mortality, the shortages of vital necessities, and the rising crime rate. And this is far from a complete list of our problems.

When there was a need for radical reforms, they were initiated and organized by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It loudly declared the vital necessity of perestroika and the reinstatement of the humane and democratic goals of socialism and headed the multifaceted work involved in the revolutionary transformation of society.

Unfortunately, the process of renewal in the republic has been extremely slow and contradictory. The perestroika efforts of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan have run into serious obstacles connected with the lack of democratic traditions, the low level of professional training, the conservative thinking of many administrative personnel, the underdevelopment of the social infrastructure, and gaps in education, science, indoctrination, culture, public information, etc.

The legacy of the past is also having a serious impact. The deep and festering wounds the republic sustained as a result of Stalin's repressions, the corrupting influence of the period of stagnation, the unthinking submission to bureaucratic tyranny, and the serious errors and deviations committed in the 1970's and 1980's and during the transition period of perestroika contributed to the escalation of social tension.

The situation in the republic and the whole region was exacerbated dramatically by the criminal actions of the Armenian extremists and separatists who provoked the inter-ethnic conflict in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, causing the confrontation between the two nationalities.

In the last 2 years our people have suffered heavy and irretrievable losses. The distressing memory of the innocent people who died and the hundreds of thousands of people who were treated so unfairly and who lost their homes and became peacetime refugees warns us to be vigilant and to give the most careful consideration to the future of the republic and the safety and welfare of its citizens.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan is aware of its responsibility to the society and views the restoration of public trust in its goals and objectives as its historic mission. For this purpose, the party will undergo a painful but extremely necessary self-cleansing process.

This is not the time to discuss long-range plans. The important thing now is to emerge from the present state of crisis, normalize the situation, and chart a course for our advancement.

These objectives lie at the basis of the Azerbaijan CP Platform, which it is submitting to all party members and all the people for their consideration so that the problems and proposed solutions will be discussed in a businesslike manner in party organizations and will be enriched by collective wisdom, after which it will represent a program of action for each party collective and each Communist.

### **I. The Development of the National State Structure and the Reconciliation of Inter-Ethnic Relations**

The Azerbaijan CP policy on the development of the national state structure is based on the conviction that the sovereign will of the Azerbaijani people and the workers of the republic is the only source of authority in the Azerbaijan SSR.

The Communist Party feels that one of its main functions is the further development and improvement of the national state structure of the Azerbaijani people, securing the genuine sovereignty and political and economic autonomy of the Azerbaijan SSR, its territorial integrity, and the inviolability of the state borders of the republic. The sovereign rights and territorial integrity of the union republic must be protected reliably not only by the republic itself, but also by the USSR, to which these powers have been delegated. In the event of the nonfulfillment of these constitutional obligations, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan will take all of the necessary measures to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity and borders of the republic and guarantee the safety of its citizens.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan announces its firm intention to respect the sovereignty of other union republics while stopping any attempts at interference in the internal affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR and the disregard of its constitution and sovereign rights. It will wage an uncompromising struggle against any nationalist or separatist actions and expose hostile propaganda against the Azerbaijan SSR.

We support the idea of concluding a new union agreement, which should clearly stipulate the legal status of union republics as sovereign states, delineate the powers of the USSR and the union republics, assert the principle of the unconditional fulfillment of mutual commitments, and renounce the exertion of forcible pressure on one another.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan feels it would be expedient to expand the rights of the Nakhichevan ASSR and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which are constituent and integral parts of Azerbaijan. In accordance with the Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR, the Constitution of the Nakhichevan ASSR, and the Law on Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, they will be guaranteed the ability to make autonomous decisions on matters pertaining to economic, social, and cultural development. We simultaneously declare that we will wage a resolute and uncompromising struggle against any attempts to create unconstitutional organs of authority and administration.

The most important political guarantee of the legality of republic sovereignty will be the new Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR.

We must accomplish the radical renewal of the political system and the structure of governmental bodies, the

transfer of power to soviets and their organs, the democratic separation of the powers and functions of republic and local authorities, and the improvement of the electoral system. The Communist Party of Azerbaijan feels it is fundamentally important for the members of elected government bodies to include politically trained representatives of the working class, the laboring peasantry, the intelligentsia, and various public organizations.

We agree that the soviets of people's deputies should become sovereign organs expressing the will of the people who elect them. We advocate higher professional standards and more effective work in the civil service, and the drafting and enforcement of legal regulations and just and humane laws with the aid of effective mechanisms.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan is resolutely opposed to the earlier discrepancies between the declared rights and freedoms of citizens and the ability to exercise them. Each citizen must be certain that the society, the president, and all republic government organs are guarding his rights and must also be fully aware of his own obligations to the state and the law and must fulfill these obligations.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan feels that the success of the struggle against crime, particularly forms of organized crime, corruption, the black market, extortion, abuses of power by officials, and the violation of the rights and legitimate interests of citizens, will be guaranteed by the augmentation of the personnel of law enforcement agencies, the elevation of their professional standards, the reinforcement of their material base, and the improvement of their support facilities. The most important part of this process will be the inevitability of punishment for crimes.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan advocates more vigorous foreign policy activity by the Azerbaijan SSR, the establishment of diplomatic, consular, and trade representations in neighboring countries and in states where the Azerbaijan SSR has interests of its own, responsible participation in international organizations, the expansion of parliamentary, intergovernmental, and inter-party ties, and the active support of public diplomacy.

The sovereign Azerbaijan SSR should have the right to establish inter-republic border regulations based on its own national interests and the right to ratify intergovernmental agreements pertaining to the state borders of the USSR within its territory.

Because the Azerbaijan SSR is the only territory where the Azerbaijani nationality has its own state, it should become the political, cultural, and spiritual center of all Azerbaijanis living in other parts of our country or in foreign countries.

History is giving us a chance to build a strong sovereign Azerbaijan SSR, within the USSR, with a dynamic and effective economy, a rich social and spiritual life, broad

democratic rights for our citizens, and strong law and order. We are calling upon all healthy forces of our nationality to unite in the struggle for the attainment of this national goal.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan is firmly committed to the internationalist principles set forth in the CPSU Platform on "Party Policy on Nationality Under Present Conditions."

Many nationalities and ethnic groups now living in the Azerbaijan SSR have always associated their destiny, their past, present, and future, with the Azerbaijani people and their history and culture.

In view of this, the republic Communist Party feels it is vitally important to do everything within its power to strengthen the unity and fraternity of the nationalities and ethnic groups living in Azerbaijan and to display interest in, and concern for, the national dignity and uniqueness, culture, and customs of each nationality and ethnic group. We feel it is necessary to establish more favorable conditions for their thorough development, the satisfaction of their needs, and the encouragement of their active participation in economic and cultural construction and in the political and spiritual life of the republic. Furthermore, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan believes that new approaches to inter-ethnic relations will be important in creating a healthier atmosphere in the republic and carrying out radical reforms successfully.

In its efforts to improve inter-ethnic relations, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan is striving to base them on the principles of mutual respect and mutual understanding, so that concern for small ethnic groups will be combined organically with their respect for the history, culture, language, and progressive traditions of the Azerbaijani people.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan will guarantee maximum consideration of the ethnic factor in politico-organizational and ideological work, the unconditional observance of internationalist principles in personnel policy, and the proportional representation of all nationalities in organs of state leadership and administration.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan feels obligated to humanize inter-ethnic relations, protect the rights of citizens unconditionally, regardless of their ethnic origins, and prohibit discrimination and persecution on ethnic grounds. To this end, we feel that a law on ethnic minorities living in the republic should be passed so it can serve as an additional guarantee of their constitutional rights and freedoms.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan condemns the acts of violence, the eviction of people from their native territories, and the crimes against humanity on ethnic grounds in several parts of Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, Sumgait, Baku, Gyandzha, and in some other places, and categorically condemns the actions of Armenian nationalists and anti-perestroika

forces which led to the militarization of the inter-ethnic conflict and the armed confrontations on ethnic grounds. We feel that only the restoration of law and order and the reestablishment of the Constitution will create the necessary political prerequisites for the normalization of the situation and the humanization of inter-ethnic relations.

Attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR, the overt resistance of the measures to stabilize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast by Armenian nationalists and separatists, and the continuous provocations on the border between the two republics are viewed by the Communist Party of Azerbaijan as criminal actions intended to undermine the constitutional bases of the Soviet Federation.

The Azerbaijan CP Central Committee drew up a stabilization program for the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] in order to normalize the political situation in the region, reestablish normal Azerbaijani-Armenian relations, and restore the peaceful life of the republic population. The first step in carrying out the program was the creation of the republic organizing committee for the NKAO. We are concentrating on completely disarming all extremist groups in the oblast, stopping the activity of separatist and nationalist organizations, taking action against their leaders, returning the refugees who were driven out of the NKAO, putting an end to the anarchistic rallies and strikes, and creating normal conditions for the institution of a group of measures to promote the economic and social development of the autonomous oblast through broader self-government.

In its efforts to carry out these plans, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan will be relying on the support of the entire population, all the inhabitants of the republic, regardless of their nationality. We feel it is each republic inhabitant's mission, his patriotic and civic duty, to provide active assistance in carrying out the program for the achievement of inter-ethnic cooperation, peace, and reconciliation in the region.

The internationalist ideal, to which the Azerbaijani people have always felt a strong commitment, is acquiring special meaning today. The Communist Party of Azerbaijan reaffirms its commitment to the noble values and ideals of internationalism as an important principle of the strategy and tactics of the perestroika of the multinational socialist society and will do everything within its power to strengthen inter-ethnic friendship.

## **II. On the Road to the Economic Autonomy of the Republic**

The main purpose of the Azerbaijani Communist Party's socioeconomic policy is the reorientation of the economy to meet the needs and requirements of the individual.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan will do everything within its power to promote the development of various

forms of socialist ownership but resolutely opposes attempts to alienate the workers from the means of production and the results of their labor. Party committees and organizations will provide consistent and energetic assistance in the maximum democratization of economic affairs, the competition of different forms of ownership, including private ownership, and different forms of labor organization, and the creation of favorable conditions for enterprise and for individual labor and economic initiative and activity.

The Communist Party views the prospects for the further economic development of Azerbaijan within the context of the precise delineation of union and republic jurisdiction in planning, management, finance and credit operations, pricing, and other economic spheres. Measures will be taken to reassign some facilities of union ministries and departments on republic territory to republic jurisdiction.

The creation of favorable conditions for the achievement of the republic's genuine economic sovereignty, its transfer to economic accountability, self-management, and self-funding, and genuine autonomy in the ownership, use, and management of its natural resources for the purpose of filling the republic market with consumer goods is an essential prerequisite for further development.

Economic cooperation with union republics and foreign countries should be based on equal and mutually beneficial conditions and carried out in line with contract commitments meeting the standards of existing laws of the Azerbaijan SSR and USSR. We will strive to set sound prices for goods produced in the republic, especially oil, petroleum products, cotton, and others, and to accomplish the fair distribution of currency receipts from the sale of crude resources and manufactured goods produced in the republic.

The most important prerequisite for the successful operation of the national economy during the transition to planned market relations is a healthy economy. This will necessitate the reordering of priorities in investment policy, the restructuring of production, and the efficient distribution of productive forces with a view to the natural and geographic conditions of the Azerbaijan SSR and to historical and ethnic factors and the traditions of our people. We advocate the improvement of the national economic structure and of economic methods of management and support the establishment of various types of associations, concerns, consortiums, and networks of small and medium-sized enterprises, as well as the cooperatives needed for the satisfaction of public demand.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan will strive to ensure that traditional branches of the republic economy, such as oil production and refining, machine building, viticulture, cotton farming, and others, produce more income and make a substantial contribution to the resolution of problems in the republic's socioeconomic development.



All policy on the development of various branches and regions must contribute to the goal of a more comprehensive economy, the fundamental improvement of economic proportions, including those between extractive and processing branches, and the maximum use of production, scientific, and technical potential in the republic interest.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan will promote radical economic reform and the thorough development of different forms of ownership in the belief that individual ownership by workers, including ownership of the means of production, is consistent with the present phase of the economic development of the Soviet society.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan regards the dynamic development of the agroindustrial complex and the considerable improvement of the public supply of meat, milk, and other foods as one of its most important economic, social, and political objectives. In connection with this, the structure of agriculture will be improved, regional cost accounting will be instituted in agriculture, and work will be performed for the following purposes:

The stepped-up development of animal husbandry and its fodder base and the optimization of production levels in cotton farming, viticulture, and other types of farming securing high income and high employment in rural areas; the efficient use of republic potential to increase the output of tea, nuts, olives, saffron, pomegranates, henna, and other valuable crops;

The thorough development of leases and contracts, cooperatives, peasant farms and private subsidiary plots, and other forms of enterprise and ownership with a view to the distinctive ethnic features and natural and economic conditions of the republic;

The intensive processing of agricultural raw materials, the reduction of exports of semimanufactured goods, and the organization of equivalent exchange between the republic and the country.

The Azerbaijan CP Central Committee advocates the radical revision of the prices of agricultural products with a view to the need to secure the efficient operation of all types of farms under the conditions of economic accountability, the creation of a mechanism to maintain price parity in the exchange of commodities between industry and agriculture, and the encouragement of farms to use natural, labor, and financial resources efficiently.

The Azerbaijan CP Central Committee feels that another important condition of the socioeconomic progress of the republic will be an active demographic policy securing the continued physical and spiritual development of labor potential and the fuller and more effective employment of the population. This program will entail the development of modern branches and production units, the comprehensive use of local resources, and the creation of new jobs with relatively small investments. An important place among these measures will be

assigned to the unified republic fund for social development, consisting of budget funds and contributions from enterprises and organizations, regardless of their departmental jurisdiction.

The further improvement of foreign economic activity will be an important part of the resolution of the republic's economic and social problems. The Communist Party will promote the growth of the republic's export potential, the reinforcement of various forms of foreign economic cooperation, the establishment of direct production ties, the creation of free economic zones on republic territory for the attraction of the resources of foreign firms, especially in neighboring states, and the expansion of foreign tourism and border trade.

During the gradual transition to a regulated market economy, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan will do everything within its power for the social protection of various segments of the population.

The protection of the social rights and guarantees of all citizens of the republic is an important function. We support the resolute rejection of the remainder principle and advocate the priority allocation of funds for the development of the social sphere, a stronger social orientation for the economy, and the equalization of the conditions of social and economic development in all parts of the republic, especially alpine regions.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan will concentrate on the following primary objectives:

Higher per capita indicators of national income and a higher standard of living for the population;

The satisfaction of public demand for food, consumer goods, and services;

The provision of each family with its own apartment or detached dwelling with the aid of all types of financing, the extension of credit on preferential terms, and the institution of other measures;

The improvement of medical treatment, the reinforcement of the material and technical base of health care, and the training of qualified medical personnel;

The protection of mothers and infants, the radical improvement of the working and living conditions of women, especially in rural locations, giving them the right to work shorter hours and take longer paid prenatal and postnatal maternity leaves and child care leaves, longer vacations, financed by centralized funds and enterprise funds, for mothers of large families and single mothers, and the gradual release of women from heavy and hazardous labor;

The protection of the disabled, the elderly, and labor and war veterans needing daily care and social support and the improvement of the financial status of low-income families;



The offer of all types of assistance to young families in solving their housing and domestic problems, raising their children, and organizing cultural leisure activities;

The guarantee of the spiritual and cultural development of all nationalities and ethnic groups living in the republic; the creation of favorable living, working, and personal conditions in the next 2 years for people of the Azerbaijani nationality and the Mskheti Turks who had to leave their homes as a result of inter-ethnic conflicts;

The development and improvement of the system of public education;

The reinforcement of the material and technical base of academic institutions and the construction of modern schools, especially in rural locations.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan believes that the attainment of the goals and objectives of perestroika will necessitate the creation of new personnel potential. This will require the radical reform of the entire system of personnel training, from schools to VUZ's, including educational opportunities for gifted youth in the best VUZ's, even abroad.

We must secure the continuous enhancement of the skills of workers and specialists and the mastery of the skills of economic thinking, social psychology, and commercial enterprise needed for the manufacture of goods capable of competing in the union market and in world markets.

The Communist Party supports the protection of the natural environment and the intelligent use of natural resources.

The sovereign rights of the republic will be exercised for the elimination of ecologically hazardous, outdated, and obsolete production units. The construction of conservation facilities will be stepped up, and a resolute struggle will be waged for clean air, land, and water and for the protection of the Caspian Sea. Economic activity on republic territory will be reviewed and regulated by law for the purpose of protecting the environment. A group of economic measures will be planned to stimulate the widespread incorporation of waste-free technology, recycling, and the use of non-traditional sources of energy.

The ecological awareness and consciousness of the population must be enhanced, industry, science, and local government agencies must cooperate more closely in the resolution of ecological problems, and stricter penalties must be instituted for ecological damage.

### III. Priorities of National Spiritual Development

The development and satisfaction of the individual's spiritual needs will play an important role in the establishment of a qualitatively new, free, democratic, and enlightened society in Azerbaijan. This will call for profound humanistic reforms in all spheres of social activity. The Communist Party of Azerbaijan feels that the chief ideological premises of this process should be the following:

The creative development and implementation of the Leninist concept of socialism;

The cultivation of a materialistic view of the world on this basis;

The affirmation of high moral standards, a conscientious attitude toward labor, professionalism, competence, patriotism, and internationalism;

The satisfaction of the Azerbaijani people's natural desire for self-expression and self-assertion on the basis of genuinely humanistic national traditions and ideals.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan defines the following priorities in its efforts to promote the spiritual and moral development of the individual:

**The Azeri language:** A program to guarantee the more active use of the Azeri language as the state language was set forth in an Azerbaijan CP Central Committee decree. Now it is time to broaden the social and cultural functions of the Azeri language and establish the necessary material and technical base, personnel reserve, teaching methods, and other conditions needed for the study of the Azeri language by people of other nationalities.

We will simultaneously work on the further improvement of the Azeri language, offering the population all types of support in its mastery of Arabic and Roman script.

Another matter of special concern is the establishment of favorable prerequisites for the development of national-Russian and Russian-national verbal communication and the preservation and thorough development of the languages of small ethnic communities.

**Education:** In the sphere of public education and the development of national schools, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan's efforts will concentrate on the qualitative renewal of the system for instilling youth with a strong sense of national identity and the humanistic values of their own national culture and world culture. This will entail the restructuring of general educational and vocational schools and higher and secondary specialized education with a view to the specific national features of the Azerbaijan SSR. At the suggestion of the republic CP Central Committee, groups of scholars and educators elaborated the "Pedagogical Theory of Continuous National Education in the Azerbaijan SSR."

The first steps in carrying out this program are the following:

The elevation of the social status and prestige of public education and the prestige of teachers and the democratization and humanization of general educational and vocational schools and higher and secondary specialized education;

The restructuring of special academic fields, changes in the territorial distribution of academic institutions, and

the expansion of training in the specialties and professions on which scientific and technical progress and the development of high technology depend;

The considerable improvement of the content of education, teaching methods, and the quality of academic instruction on all levels of the educational system;

The guarantee of maximum glasnost, fairness, and impartiality in the admission of young people to VUZ's and secondary specialized academic institutions;

The substantial augmentation of proportional expenditures on public education in the national income of the republic and the solicitation of contributions from labor collectives, organizations, and departments for this purpose;

The satisfaction of public demand for pre-school establishments in the republic.

**Science:** The intensive development and effective use of scientific potential, an increase in financial allocations and material resources for this purpose, the reinforcement of the testing and experimental base, and the reorientation of basic and applied research for the stepped-up development of the national economic complex are important conditions for the reinforcement of the republic's sovereignty and economic autonomy. It will be necessary to coordinate priority fields of scientific research with the developmental needs of the republic economy, regain the leading position the republic once held in certain fields of science, intensify the technical emphasis in research conducted in the Academy of Sciences, and integrate science with production within the framework of special comprehensive republic programs and intersectorial scientific and technical complexes.

In this context, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan feels it will be necessary to:

Focus the intellectual potential of scientists in the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, research and design organizations, and VUZ's on the resolution of the main problems in the socioeconomic, political, and spiritual development of the republic, ecology, and public health;

Institute the much closer coordination of scientific studies and improve the organization and management of academy, sectorial, and VUZ science;

Radically reorganize the system for the training and placement of scientific personnel and encourage talented young scientists to accept administrative appointments in science;

Achieve the maximum expansion and intensification of productive inter-republic scientific contacts and international scientific cooperation;

Develop sociology and such new fields of science in the republic as political science, social psychology, and

others; assign priority to profound scientific investigations of problems in inter-ethnic relations.

The Azerbaijan CP Central Committee initiated the drafting of the state program for the study, teaching, and propaganda of the history of Azerbaijan. It envisages a wide-ranging group of measures to improve scientific research, unite the efforts of historians in the compilation of new Azerbaijani history textbooks, teach the history of Azerbaijan in all types of academic institutions as a separate subject, etc.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan sees the need for a scientific recreation of the whole history of the Azerbaijani people and a study of the "blank spaces" in the activities of the Baku commune and the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan. Priority will be assigned to the compilation and publication of multi-volume works on the history of Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan philosophy, and the language and literature of Azerbaijan.

**Culture:** The Communist Party of Azerbaijan is particularly concerned about the thorough development of national culture, the preservation of its uniqueness, the encouragement of greater interest in the restoration of historical monuments, and the expansion of cultural cooperation with compatriots in foreign countries. The 850th anniversary of the birth of great poet, philosopher, and humanist Nizami Ganjavi will help in publicizing the cultural wealth of the Azerbaijani people.

We oppose the standardization of culture and its isolation from national traditions but we are striving for the organic inclusion of the Azerbaijani culture, which is part of the Soviet culture, in the context of world culture. It is important to guarantee all nationalities and ethnic groups living in the republic opportunities for the normal reproduction and enjoyment of their own culture and maximum opportunities for the satisfaction of their cultural needs, especially in the spheres of education, communication, and artistic traditions.

In connection with this, we feel it would be expedient to:

Elaborate a theory of the development of national culture and the arts and draft and approve a republic program for the satisfaction of the cultural needs of ethnic minorities and small ethnic groups;

Restructure the mechanism for the management of the cultural sphere, renounce the remainder principle of its funding, reinforce the material base considerably, and institute cost-accounting principles on a broad scale;

Offer all-round support and encouragement to artistic unions and other organizations promoting public awareness of the cultural heritage and encourage the competition of ideas and talents;

Improve the quality of personnel training from among the artistic intelligentsia, improve the conditions of their work, and expand the network of arts centers, art workshops, and communal facilities and residences for young artists;

Expand and intensify inter-republic cultural cooperation and interaction with foreign countries, arrange for the necessary level of propaganda of the Azerbaijani artistic heritage in the fraternal Soviet republics and abroad, acquaint the population with the world and union cultural heritage, and open cultural centers of the union republics in Azerbaijan and Azerbaijani cultural centers in the fraternal republics and foreign countries;

Promote the development of folk arts in the republic, establish a single system for the management of this sphere, arrange for intensive scientific studies of folklore and folk tradition and publicize them, and pay closer attention to the development of folk crafts.

The news media are an integral part of the culture. The Communist Party of Azerbaijan endorses the constructive democratic and concerned interaction of party committees with editorial teams for the purpose of consolidating all healthy forces in the society for the affirmation of renewal, the pluralism of opinions, and the personal responsibility of journalists as alternatives to subjectivism and ideological eclecticism. We must do everything within our power to ensure that the news media represent a quick and reliable source of true and objective information. This will entail the considerable reinforcement and renovation of the economic, printing, and technical base of newspapers, publishing houses, and radio and television stations.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan wants to return the people's cultural values, progressive traditions, national holidays, and customs to them, restore the good name of the republic's sons and daughters who were illegally repressed and slandered in Stalin's time and later, and restore the historical names of cities, rayons, villages, parks, and streets.

We feel it is extremely important to reconsider our attitude toward religion in general and Islam in particular. We endorse an objective and balanced interpretation of Islam and of its role in the history and spiritual life of the Azerbaijani people.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan announces its respect for people belonging to other religions and for their need to perform religious rituals and supports stronger ties between the different faiths in the republic.

We feel that the further development of culture and the spiritual and moral training of the people will be unthinkable unless people are instilled with feelings of charity, sympathy, and compassion.

In connection with this, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan will render maximum assistance in the establishment of various charitable organizations and funds.

Special attention will be given to the planning and implementation of a state program of social and cultural aid to refugees, orphanages, boarding schools, homes for the elderly, labor and war veterans, single individuals, and those who are living on the verge of poverty.

#### IV. On the Road to a Renewed Communist Party of Azerbaijan

The Communists of Azerbaijan agree with the statements in the drafts of the CPSU Central Committee Platform and CPSU Charter on the party's functions, place, and role in the renewed society.

To carry its mission as the political leader and guarantor of perestroika, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan must intensify its work on the resolute renewal of organizational structures, the cleansing of its own ranks, and the democratization of party internal affairs.

Learning lessons from past experience, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan acknowledges its responsibility for past and present developments and admits the need to take more ambitious, energetic, and innovative action. By strengthening its ties with the people and recovering the trust of the entire population of the republic, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan will be able to surmount the political crisis caused by the inter-ethnic conflict, create a healthier atmosphere, and accomplish the revolutionary renewal of all spheres of republic life.

At this crucial point in its history, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan reaffirms its commitment to the Leninist theoretical legacy and the ideals of Great October, the socialist choice, and the ideological theory and organizational bases of the CPSU, will strive to regain the status of the democratic vanguard of the Azerbaijani people, will resolutely reject authoritarian methods of activity and management, will support the consolidation and strong unity of Communists sharing the same views and principles, and will urge categorical dissociation from those who are trying to split the CPSU along ideological and organizational lines.

The immutable principles of the future activity of the renewed Communist Party of Azerbaijan will be accessibility, credibility, glasnost, intolerance for its own shortcomings, a radically modified style of party leadership, and better methods of exerting ideological and political influence on economic and social processes.

The statements about the autonomy of union republic communist parties in the drafts of the CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th party congress and the CPSU charter establish the necessary prerequisites for the genuine autonomy of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. When the Communist Party of Azerbaijan is free of the tutelage of central organs, it will have the structure of a sociopolitical organization making its own decisions on organizational, personnel, and other matters, engaging in publishing and economic activity, conducting its own economic, social, and cultural policy, and also having the right to participate directly in decisions on fundamental aspects of CPSU affairs.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan, united with the other union republic communist parties in the CPSU on an equal basis and recognizing the CPSU program and charter, will act on the basis of its own program and

charter, defining its status and giving fuller and more precise consideration to local conditions, traditions, and priorities in the resolution of social problems.

As the ruling party, the Communist Party of Azerbaijan will conduct an autonomous policy in the republic, participate in the administration of governmental and public affairs within the framework of democratic processes, and strive for the reaffirmation of its mandate to govern on the basis of choice, in healthy competition, by democratic means.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan supports constructive dialogue and cooperation with all public organizations and movements operating in line with the constitution and laws of the republic. Although we support the idea of political pluralism and will strive for a national consensus, we believe that vital national issues cannot and must not be decided by political demagogues and opportunists.

Intra-party relations must be restructured in such a way that primary party organizations will gain genuine autonomy, and not just verbal promises of autonomy, and all Communists will have a chance to participate in party policymaking and in the election of party executive organs.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan will wage a relentless struggle against signs of conservative and dogmatic thinking and behavior in its structures because, at a time of democratization and glasnost, these will severely inhibit wide-ranging and free debate and frank dialogue with party members and non-members and will fight for the right of the minority to defend its position and its views and opinions and to propose alternative programs and platforms on the condition of obligatory compliance with majority decisions.

The discussion of the mechanism for the transfer of authority from the party staff to elected bodies is part of the pre-congress debates. The Communist Party of Azerbaijan endorses the enhancement of their role and responsibility in planning and implementing the policy line of the republic party organization.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan renounces the formal bureaucratic approach to personnel policy and believes that the personnel decisions of party committees should take the form of recommendations, on the condition of their support by party members and non-members and a democratic procedure of choosing candidates for administrative positions.

Under present conditions, the emphasis in all party organizational, ideological, and mass political activity is shifting to methods of persuasion and ideological and moral influence and to the creation of an atmosphere of party camaraderie, highly responsible behavior, and the mutual demandingness of Communists in party organizations.

The maximum expansion of glasnost and its affirmation and reinforcement through the news media and through public access to the primary party organizations of rayon, city, and oblast party committees and the party Central Committee will be a salient feature of the activities of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

The Communist Party of Azerbaijan will fight for the purity of its ranks and will resolutely condemn and get rid of the Communists who discredit the party with their actions, opportunists, bribe-takers, and officials who abuse their office and violate the standards of party ethics, standards, and morality.

Political, forecasting, organizational, and ideological functions will be substituted for the party staff's earlier administrative functions. The staff must be strictly accountable to the elected bodies of the party, and its qualitative renewal will necessitate contests and competition by competent, professionally trained, and authoritative members of the CPSU distinguished by modern thinking and ingenuity.

The Communists of Azerbaijan advocate the autonomy of trade unions and the further improvement of organs of people's control. We endorse a stronger Komsomol in Azerbaijan as the youth organization with the same ideological-theoretical platform as the CPSU. Relations between the party and Komsomol will be based on mutual respect and trust.

These are the basic guidelines of the renewal of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. During the present pre-congress debates, they should be enriched by the suggestions and comments of Communists.

### **Azerbaijan Passes Law on Citizenship**

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[Azerbaijan SSR Law: "Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR"]

#### **[Text] I. General Principles**

##### **Article 1. Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR defines a person's permanent political and legal tie with the Azerbaijani state, which finds expression in their reciprocal rights and obligations.

In Azerbaijan SSR every person has the right to citizenship. No one can be arbitrarily deprived of citizenship or the right to change his citizenship.

The Azerbaijani state, in the person of its agencies and officials, is responsible to the citizens of Azerbaijan SSR, and a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR is responsible to the Azerbaijani state.

The Azerbaijani state defends the citizens of Azerbaijan SSR on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR and outside its confines.

**Article 2. Equal Citizenship**

Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR is equal for everyone, irrespective of the grounds for acquiring it.

Citizens of Azerbaijan SSR are equal before the law, irrespective of their origin, social or property position, race or nationality, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, political or other convictions, type or nature of occupation, place of residence, length of residence in a particular locality, or other circumstances.

The complete equality of the citizens of Azerbaijan SSR is guaranteed in all areas of economic, political, social, and cultural life.

The citizens of the other union republics on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR enjoy equal rights with its citizens and bear the same obligations as Azerbaijani citizens, unless otherwise established by the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution or Azerbaijan SSR laws.

A citizen of Azerbaijan SSR is simultaneously a citizen of USSR.

**Article 3. Azerbaijan SSR Legislation Governing Citizenship**

The Azerbaijan SSR legislation governing citizenship consists of this Law, which is enacted on the basis of the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution, and other acts of Azerbaijan SSR and Nakhichevan ASSR that are promulgated in conformity with it.

**Article 4. Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

The following persons are citizens of Azerbaijan SSR:

- persons who were citizens of Azerbaijan SSR on the day that this Law went into effect;
- persons who have acquired citizenship of Azerbaijan SSR in conformity with this Law.

**Article 5. Retention of Citizenship During Consummation or Dissolution of a Marriage**

The entry into marriage of a male or female citizen of Azerbaijan SSR with a person who is a citizen of another union republic, who is a citizen of a foreign country, or who is a person without citizenship, or the dissolution of such a marriage, does not result in a change of citizenship for the married couple.

A change of citizenship by one member of a married couple does not result in the change of citizenship for the other member.

**Article 6. Retention of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR by Persons Residing Outside Its Confines**

The fact that a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR is residing on the territory of another union republic or a foreign state does not result in the cessation of his or her citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR.

**Article 7. Protection by the State of Azerbaijan SSR Citizens Residing Outside Its Limits**

Azerbaijan SSR citizens residing outside its confines enjoy the defense and protection of the Azerbaijani state and the USSR.

The Azerbaijani state, in the person of its state agencies; its permanent representations in the capital of the USSR and in the other union republics; the diplomatic representations and consular institutions of the USSR and Azerbaijan SSR in foreign states; and their officials are obliged to take steps to assure that Azerbaijan SSR citizens residing in another union republic or in a foreign state have the opportunity to enjoy in full measure all the rights granted to them by the legislation of the other union republic or foreign state, and by international treaties of which the USSR or Azerbaijan SSR and the country of residence are participants, or by international customs; and, in the procedure that has been established by legislation, to defend their rights and legally protected interests, and, if necessary, to take steps to restore the violated rights of Azerbaijan SSR citizens.

**Article 8. Inadmissibility of Extraditing an Azerbaijan SSR Citizen to a Foreign State or Another Union Republic**

An Azerbaijan SSR citizen cannot be extradited to a foreign state or another union republic unless it is otherwise stipulated by an international or interrepublic treaty of Azerbaijan SSR.

**Article 9. Nonrecognition of an Azerbaijan SSR Citizen's Citizenship in Another Union Republic or Foreign State**

A person who is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR is not recognized as having citizenship in another union republic or foreign state, except in instances for which a decision is made by the President of Azerbaijan SSR.

**Article 10. Persons Without Citizenship**

Persons residing on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR who are not citizens of Azerbaijan SSR or another union republic, and who do not have proof that they have citizenship in a foreign state, are considered to be persons without citizenship.

**II. Acquisition of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR****Article 11. Grounds for Acquisition of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR is acquired:

- 1) by birth;
- 2) as a result of acceptance as a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR;
- 3) on grounds stipulated by the interrepublic treaties of Azerbaijan SSR;

4) on grounds stipulated by international treaties of USSR and Azerbaijan SSR;

5) on other grounds stipulated by this Law.

**Article 12. Citizenship of Children Whose Parents Are Azerbaijan SSR Citizens**

A child whose parents were both, as of the moment of the child's birth, citizens of Azerbaijan SSR is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR irrespective of whether or not the child was born on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR or outside the confines of Azerbaijan SSR.

**Article 13. Citizenship of Children, One of Whose Parents Is an Azerbaijan SSR Citizen**

When the parents are of different citizenship and one of them, as of the moment of the child's birth, was a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR, the child is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR:

- 1) if he or she was born on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR;
- 2) if he or she was born outside the confines of Azerbaijan SSR, but the parents or one of them at that time had permanent residence on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR.

When the parents are of different citizenship and one of them, as of the moment of the child's birth, was a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR, and at that time both parents had a permanent place of residence outside the confines of Azerbaijan SSR, the citizenship of a child who has been born outside the confines of Azerbaijan SSR is determined in accordance with the wishes of the parents, as expressed in written form.

A child one of whose parents, as of the moment of the child's birth, was a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR, while the other was a person without citizenship, or was unknown, is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR irrespective of the place of birth.

In the event of establishment of the paternity of a child whose mother is a person without citizenship, and a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR is recognized as being the father, a child who has not reached the age of 14 years becomes a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR irrespective of the place of birth.

**Article 14. Acquisition of Azerbaijan SSR Citizenship by Children of Persons Without Citizenship**

A child of persons without citizenship who have a permanent residence in Azerbaijan SSR, who was born on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR, is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR.

**Article 15. Citizenship of Children Whose Parents Are Unknown**

A child who is located on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR and both of whose parents are unknown is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR.

**Article 16. Acceptance as a Citizen of Azerbaijan SSR**

Citizens of other union republics; foreign citizens; and persons without citizenship, in accordance with their official request, can be accepted as a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR in conformity with this law, irrespective of their origin, race or nationality, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, political or other convictions, or place of residence.

An official request for acceptance as a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR is declined if the person making such a request calls for the forceful overthrow or change of the state and social system that has been firmly established by the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution or for the violation of the unity of the territory of Azerbaijan SSR; carries out activities that are detrimental to state security, the protection of public order, or the public's health or morality; propagandizes hatred and racial or national exclusivity; or is linked with terroristic activities.

**Article 17. Restoration of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

A person who was previously a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR, in accordance with his official request, can be restored to citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR.

**III. Cessation of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

**Article 18. Grounds for Cessation of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

Cessation of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR occurs:

- 1) as a consequence of a person's giving up his citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR;
- 2) as a consequence of a person's loss of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR;
- 3) as a consequence of a person's being deprived of his citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR;
- 4) on grounds stipulated by interrepublic treaties of Azerbaijan SSR, or by international treaties of the USSR and Azerbaijan SSR;

5) on other grounds stipulated by this Law.

The cessation of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR entails the cessation of citizenship in the USSR.

The cessation of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR also entails the cessation of citizenship in Nakhichevan ASSR.

**Article 19. Giving Up of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

A person's giving up of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR is authorized on the basis of that person's official request in the procedure established by this Law.

The person's giving up of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR can be refused if the person requesting such action has

unfulfilled obligations to the state or property obligations with which substantial interests of the citizens or state, cooperative, or other public organizations of Azerbaijan SSR are linked.

It is not authorized for a person to give up citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR if the person requesting such action has been brought to criminal responsibility as a defendant or if a court sentence with respect to him has gone into legal force or is subject to execution, or if the person's giving up of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR contradicts the interests of the state security of the USSR or Azerbaijan SSR.

#### **Article 20. Loss of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR is lost:

- 1) as a consequence of the person's entry into military service, security service, police, legal agencies, or other agencies of state authority and administration in a foreign state without the knowledge and approval of the state agencies indicated in Articles 29 and 30 of this Law;
- 2) if a person residing permanently abroad has not been maintained on consular records without valid reasons for a period of five years;
- 3) if the citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR was acquired as a result of the submittal of information that was known to be false, or of forged documents.

The loss of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR occurs as of the moment that that fact is registered by the empowered state agencies indicated in Articles 32 and 33 of this Law.

#### **Article 21. Deprivation of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

Deprivation of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR can occur in an exceptional instance with respect to a person if he or she has committed actions causing substantial harm to the state interests or state security of Azerbaijan SSR.

Depriving a person of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR does not entail any change in the citizenship of his or her spouse or children.

#### **IV. Citizenship of Children in the Event of Change of the Parents' Citizenship or in the Event of Adoption**

##### **Article 22. Change of Children's Citizenship in the Event of Change of the Parents' Citizenship**

In the event of change of parents' citizenship, as a consequence of which both parents become citizens of Azerbaijan SSR or both are no longer citizens of Azerbaijan SSR, the corresponding change occurs in the citizenship of their children who have not reached the age of 14 years.

If one of the child's parents is known, in the event of a change of citizenship of that parent there is a corresponding change in the citizenship of a child who has not reached the age of 14 years.

##### **Article 23. Retention of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR By a Child For Whom Guardianship or Wardship Has Been Established**

If both parents or a single parent of a child residing on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR are no longer citizens of Azerbaijan SSR and also fail to participate in bringing up a child for whom guardianship or wardship of Azerbaijan SSR citizens has been established, the child, on the basis of an official request by the parents, guardian, or trustee, retains his citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR.

##### **Article 24. Acquisition by Children of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR in the Event of Acquisition of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR By One of the Parents**

If one of the parents becomes a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR and the other remains a citizen of another union republic or a foreign citizen, the child may acquire citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR on the basis of an official request for such action by the parent acquiring the citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR.

If one of the parents becomes a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR and the other remains a person without citizenship, a child residing on the territory of Azerbaijan SSR becomes a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR.

If one of the parents becomes a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR and the other remains a person without citizenship, a child residing outside the confines of Azerbaijan SSR can acquire citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR on the basis of an official request for such action by the parent acquiring the citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR.

##### **Article 25. Retention By Children of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR In the Event That One of the Parents Is No Longer a Citizen of Azerbaijan SSR**

If one of the parents is no longer a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR and the other remains a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR, the child retains citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR. On the basis of an official request from the parent who is no longer a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR, authorization can be issued for that child to give up citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR.

##### **Article 26. Acquisition By Children of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR In the Event of Adoption**

A child who is a citizen of another union republic, a foreign citizen, or a person without citizenship, and who is adopted by citizens of Azerbaijan SSR, becomes a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR.

A child who is a citizen of another union republic or a foreign citizen, and who is adopted by a married couple one of whom is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR and the other is a person without citizenship becomes a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR.

A child who is a person without citizenship and who is adopted by a married couple one of whom is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR becomes a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR.

A child who is a citizen of another union republic or a foreign citizen, and who is adopted by a married couple one of whom is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR and the other is a citizen of another union republic or a foreign citizen becomes a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR by agreement with the adopting parents.

**Article 27. Retention By Children of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR in the Event of Adoption**

A child who is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR and who has been adopted by citizens of another union republic or by foreign citizens, or who has been adopted by a married couple one of whom is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR and the other is a citizen of another union republic or a foreign citizen, retains citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR. On the basis of an official request by the adopting parents, it can be authorized for this child to give up citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR.

A child who is a citizen of Azerbaijan and who has been adopted by persons without citizenship, or has been adopted by a married couple one of whom is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR and the other is a person without citizenship, retains his citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR.

**Article 28. Need for the Children's Consent In the Event of a Change in Their Citizenship**

A change in the citizenship of children between the age of 14 and 18 years, in the event of a change in the citizenship of their parents, and also in the event of adoption, can occur only with the children's consent in the procedure established by Article 35 of this Law.

**V. Agencies That Make Decisions With Regard to Questions of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

**Article 29. Agencies That Make Decisions With Regard to Questions of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

In Azerbaijan SSR, the agencies that make decisions with regard to questions of citizenship are the President of Azerbaijan SSR and the Presidium of the Nakhichevan ASSR Supreme Soviet.

**Article 30. Powers of the President of Azerbaijan SSR**

The President of Azerbaijan SSR makes decisions:

- concerning the acceptance as citizens of Azerbaijan SSR of citizens of other union republics, foreign citizens, or persons without citizenship who are residing permanent outside the confines of Azerbaijan SSR and who have made the appropriate official request to the President of Azerbaijan SSR;
- concerning the acceptance as citizens of Azerbaijan SSR of citizens of other union republics, foreign citizens, or persons without citizenship, and concerning the giving up of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR by citizens of Azerbaijan SSR, if with respect to their citizenship decisions have previously been made in conformity with legislation of Azerbaijan SSR;

—concerning the giving up of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR by citizens of Azerbaijan SSR who are residing permanent outside the confines of Azerbaijan SSR and who have made appropriate official requests to the President of Azerbaijan SSR;

—concerning the retention of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR in instances stipulated in Article 23 of this Law;

—concerning the deprivation of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR;

—concerning the granting in exceptional instances of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR to citizens of other union republics or to citizens of foreign states.

**Article 31. Powers of the Presidium of the Nakhichevan ASSR Supreme Soviet**

The Presidium of the Nakhichevan ASSR Supreme Soviet makes decisions concerning questions of citizens in Nakhichevan ASSR on the basis of the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution, the Nakhichevan ASSR Constitution, this Law, and other acts of Azerbaijan SSR and Nakhichevan ASSR that are promulgated in conformity with it.

**Article 32. Powers of the Internal Affairs Agencies**

Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, Nakhichevan ASSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the internal-affairs administrations and departments of the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies:

- accept from persons permanently residing in Azerbaijan SSR their applications dealing with questions of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR and, together with the necessary documents, sends them for review to the President of Azerbaijan SSR or the Presidium of the Nakhichevan ASSR Supreme Soviet;
- determine whether persons permanently residing in Azerbaijan SSR are citizens of Azerbaijan SSR;
- register the loss of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR by persons permanently residing on territory of Azerbaijan SSR.

**Article 33. Powers of Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of Diplomatic Representations and Consular Institutions of Azerbaijan SSR**

Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the diplomatic representations and consular institutions of Azerbaijan SSR:

- accept from persons permanently residing in foreign states their applications dealing with questions of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR and, together with the necessary documents, send them for review to the President of Azerbaijan SSR or the Presidium of Nakhichevan ASSR Supreme Soviet;
- determine whether persons permanently residing in foreign states are citizens of Azerbaijan SSR;



- register the loss of citizen in Azerbaijan SSR by persons permanently residing in foreign states;
- maintain records on Azerbaijan SSR citizens permanently residing in foreign states.

In the event that no diplomatic representation or consular institution of Azerbaijan SSR is located in the foreign state, the applications dealing with questions of citizenship from persons permanently residing in that state can be furnished to the appropriate diplomatic representation or consular institution of the USSR.

#### **Article 34. Powers of the Permanent Representation of Azerbaijan SSR in the Capital of the USSR and in Other Union Republics**

The permanent representation of Azerbaijan SSR in the capital of the USSR and in other union republics:

- accept from persons permanently residing in other union republics their applications dealing with questions of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR and, together with the necessary document, send them for review to the President of Azerbaijan SSR or the Presidium of Nakhichevan ASSR Supreme Soviet;
- determine whether persons permanently residing in other union republics are citizens of Azerbaijan SSR;
- register the loss of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR by persons permanently residing in other union republics;
- maintain records of Azerbaijan SSR citizens permanently residing in other union republics.

#### **VI. Procedures for Reviewing Applications and Statements Dealing With Questions of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

##### **Article 35. Procedure for Submitting Applications Dealing With Questions of Citizenship**

Applications dealing with questions of citizenship are addressed appropriately to President of Azerbaijan SSR or the Presidium of Nakhichevan ASSR Supreme Soviet through the internal-affairs agencies at the applicant's place of permanent residence, or, by persons permanently residing in a foreign state, through the appropriate diplomatic representations or consular institutions.

Applications dealing with questions of citizenship that are submitted by persons living in other union republics are addressed to the President of Azerbaijan SSR and are re-sent by mail to Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs directly or through permanent representations of Azerbaijan SSR in the appropriate union republic.

A person who is a citizen of a foreign state with which the USSR or Azerbaijan SSR has concluded a treaty to prevent dual citizenship is obliged to submit a document that attests to the attitude taken by that state to the citizen's intention to change his citizenship.

##### **Article 36. Form of Applications Dealing With Questions of Citizenship**

Official requests concerning acceptance as a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR, restitution of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR, or the giving up of that citizenship are reviewed on the basis of a written request submitted by the individual. Official requests with respect to persons who have not reached the age of 18 years are reviewed on the basis of a request from their legal representatives, which has been certified by a notary public, or, in a foreign state, certified by the appropriate diplomatic representation or consular institution.

When submitting an application for acceptance as a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR, restitution of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR, or the giving up of that citizenship for children between the age of 14 and 18 years, it is mandatory to have their consent, which must be expressed in written form and certified by a notary public, or, in a foreign state, certified by the appropriate diplomatic representation or consular institution.

When submitting an official request concerning the giving up of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR by a minor, one of whose parents remains a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR, it is also necessary to submit an application from that parent, in which there is an expression of his or her attitude toward the child's giving up citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR. This application must be certified by a notary public, or, in a foreign state, certified by the appropriate diplomatic representation or consular institution.

If the applicant cannot sign the application because of illiteracy or by virtue of physical shortcomings, at his request the application can be signed by another person, concerning which fact the Azerbaijan SSR internal-affairs agency, or, in other union republics, the permanent Azerbaijan SSR representation or appropriate state notary public, or, in a foreign state, the appropriate diplomatic representation or consular institution, signs the application.

##### **Article 37. Statement That a Person Is a Citizen of Azerbaijan SSR**

An application concerning the fact that a person is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR is submitted to the Azerbaijan SSR internal-affairs agency at the applicant's permanent place of residence, or, by a person permanently residing in a foreign state, to the appropriate diplomatic representation or consular institution.

When determining the fact that a person is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR, use is made of acts of the Legislation of the USSR and Azerbaijan SSR and the rules of USSR and Azerbaijan SSR international treaties, which acts and rules were in effect as of the moment of arising of the circumstances with which the person's citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR are linked.

**Article 38. Statement of Deprivation of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

A statement concerning the deprivation of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR is addressed to the President of Azerbaijan SSR by the Azerbaijan SSR state agencies listed in Article 40 of this Law with respect to Azerbaijan SSR citizens residing in other union republics, and also by permanent representations of Azerbaijan SSR in the capital of the USSR and other union republics, through Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, and, with respect to Azerbaijan SSR citizens permanently residing in a foreign state, also by the appropriate diplomatic or consular institutions through the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**Article 39. Procedure for Formalizing Applications Dealing With Questions of Citizenship**

Applications dealing with questions of citizenship are formalized, in response to the applicant's personal appeal, by Azerbaijan SSR internal-affairs agencies at the place of the person's permanent residence, or, with respect to persons permanently residing in a foreign state, by the appropriate diplomatic representations or consular institutions.

In the event of valid reasons, the internal-affairs agencies or the appropriate diplomatic representations or consular institutions are required to formalize materials dealing with citizens on the basis of applications that have been transferred to them through other persons or by the mail.

**Article 40. Findings With Regard to Applications Dealing With Citizenship**

The internal-affairs agency or appropriate diplomatic representation or consular institution that is formalizing the application dealing with questions of citizenship makes its own motivated findings with regard to that application.

Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Azerbaijan SSR Committee for State Security [KGB] direct their findings with regard to the applications and statements dealing with questions of citizenship, together with the other necessary materials, to the President of Azerbaijan SSR.

The Nakhichevan ASSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and Nakhichevan ASSR Committee for State Security direct their findings with regard to the questions of citizenship in Nakhichevan ASSR, together with the other necessary materials, to the Presidium of the Nakhichevan ASSR Supreme Soviet.

The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers submits to the President of Azerbaijan SSR the motivated findings concerning the desirability of accepting a person as a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR or the restoration of that citizenship, for each applicant, including the possibility of his being provided with a job, housing, and other services in Azerbaijan SSR.

The Nakhichevan ASSR Council of Ministers submits to the Presidium of the Nakhichevan ASSR Supreme Soviet its motivated findings concerning the desirability of accepting a person as a citizen of Nakhichevan ASSR or restoring that citizenship to him, for each applicant, including the possibility of his being provided with a job, housing, and other services in Nakhichevan ASSR.

In the findings on the applications for a person's giving up of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR, information is also communicated concerning the applicant's unfulfilled pledges to the state or his property obligations, with which the substantial interests of citizens or state, cooperative, or other public organizations are linked; concerning his having been respect to his being brought to criminal responsibility as a defendant, or the existence of a court sentence with respect to him that has gone into legal effect; or concerning the fact that his giving up of citizenship in Azerbaijan contradicts the interests of the state security of Azerbaijan SSR.

**Article 41. Preliminary Review of Applications and Statements Sent to the Commission on Questions of Citizenship, Under the President of Azerbaijan SSR**

For the preliminary review of questions of citizenship that are indicated in Article 30 of this Law, the President of Azerbaijan SSR forms a Commission on Questions of Citizenship.

When reviewing the applications and statements dealing with questions of citizenship, the commission completely evaluates the applicant's arguments, the contents of the statement, the findings of the state agencies, the other documents, and the duly formalized depositions.

The commission also takes into consideration the opinion of the Nakhichevan ASSR Council of Ministers in the event that the person intends to settle there, the desirability of his acceptance as a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR or the restoration of that citizenship, including the possibility of providing him with a job, housing, and other services in the republic.

The commission has the right to request, with regard to a case that it is considering, the materials and documents from the appropriate state agencies and public organizations, which submit the necessary information within the deadline established by the commission.

The commission presents for review by the President of Azerbaijan SSR the recommendations dealing with each application or statement. The commission's decision is formalized by minutes that are signed by all the commission members who participated in the session.

**Article 42. Making of Decisions With Respect to Questions of Citizens By the President of Azerbaijan SSR**

With regard to questions of citizenship, the President of Azerbaijan SSR issues Ukases.

Changes in citizenship occur on the day of publication of the Ukase of the President of Azerbaijan SSR, unless the Ukase stipulates otherwise.

A re-application dealing with a question of citizenship is viewed, as a rule, after one year has elapsed since the previous decision dealing with that question. In the event that there arise any circumstances that are essential for the case and that were not or could not be known to the applicant, the re-application can be reviewed earlier than one year.

A person who has been refused acceptance as a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR or who has been deprived of citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR is told the reasons for the appropriate decision, in response to his request.

#### **Article 43. Deadline for Reviewing Applications Dealing With Questions of Citizenship**

The deadline for reviewing an application or statement concerning questions of citizenship must not exceed six months.

#### **VII. Execution of Decisions Dealing With Questions of Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR**

##### **Article 44. Agencies Executing the Decisions Dealing With Questions of Citizenship**

The execution of decisions dealing with questions of citizenship with respect to persons permanently residing in Azerbaijan SSR is entrusted to Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, Nakhichevan ASSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the internal-affairs administrations and departments of the executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies; with respect to persons living in another union republic, to the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs or permanent representation of Azerbaijan SSR in the capital of the USSR or the appropriate union republic; and, with respect to persons residing in a foreign state, to the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the appropriate diplomatic representations and consular institutions.

##### **Article 45. Issuance of Passports and Residence Permits**

Persons who have acquired, in the legally established procedure, citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR are issued, by the internal-affairs agencies or the appropriate diplomatic representations or consular institutions, passports for a citizen in Azerbaijan SSR, or, for children who have not reached the age of 16 years, an entry concerning the fact that they are citizens of Azerbaijan SSR is made in their documents.

Persons residing in Azerbaijan SSR who are no longer citizens of Azerbaijan SSR are issued residence permits by the internal-affairs agencies.

##### **Article 46. Oath of the Citizen of Azerbaijan SSR**

A person who acquires citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR, upon receipt of a passport for a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR, takes the following oath on the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution:

"I (last name, first name), in acquiring citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR, solemnly swear to observe strictly the Constitution and Laws of Azerbaijan SSR, to commit no actions that can harm the interests of the sovereign Azerbaijan state, and to respect the customs and traditions of the Azerbaijani nation."

#### **Article 47. Monitoring of the Execution of the Decisions Pertaining to Questions of Citizenship**

The execution of the decisions pertaining to questions of citizenship is monitored by the Commission for Questions of Citizenship, under the President of Azerbaijan SSR.

#### **VIII. Appealing of the Decisions Pertaining to Questions of Citizenship**

##### **Article 48. Complaints Concerning Decisions Pertaining to Questions of Citizenship**

Complaints concerning decisions pertaining to questions of citizenship can be made to the President of Azerbaijan SSR.

Complaints concerning decisions pertaining to questions of whether a person is a citizen of Azerbaijan SSR or has lost that citizenship are addressed to the President of Azerbaijan SSR.

##### **Article 49. Complaints Concerning the Improper Actions of Officials With Regard to Questions of Citizenship**

Complaints concerning the unsubstantiated refusal to accept an application dealing with questions of citizenship, failure to meet the deadlines for the reviewing of an application, and other improper actions of officials that violate the procedure for reviewing cases involving citizenship or the procedure for executing the decisions pertaining to questions of citizenship can be made in the procedure established by Law to an official who is superior in order of subordination or to the court.

#### **IX. Interrepublic and International Treaties**

##### **Article 50. Application of Interrepublic and International Treaties**

If an interrepublic treaty of Azerbaijan SSR or an international treaty of USSR or Azerbaijan SSR has established rules that are different from those contained in this Law, the rules of the interrepublic or international treaty are applied.

A. Mutalibov, President of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic.

Baku, 26 June 1990.

**Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Resolution: "Procedure for Putting Azerbaijan SSR Law Entitled 'Citizenship in the Azerbaijan SSR' into Effect"**

Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To put Azerbaijan SSR Law entitled "Citizenship in the Azerbaijan SSR" into effect as of 1 January 1991.

2. The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Law entitled "Citizenship in the Azerbaijan SSR" is applied to legal relations that arose after the law mentioned has gone into effect, that is, after 1 January 1991.

3. To recognize the following as being no longer in effect after the Azerbaijan SSR Law entitled "Citizenship in the Azerbaijan SSR" has gone into effect:

—the 10 September 1981 Ukase of the Presidium of Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "Confirmation of the Statute Governing the Procedure for Reviewing at the Presidium of Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet the Questions Linked With the Acceptance of Persons As Citizens of Azerbaijan SSR" (Minutes of Sessions of the Presidium of Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, 1981, No 13, Article 48);

—the 26 May 1982 Ukase of the Presidium of Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "Confirmation of the Instruction Manual Governing the Procedure for Formalizing Materials and Executing the Decisions of the Presidium of Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet That Are Linked With the Acceptance of Persons As Citizens of Azerbaijan SSR" (Minutes of Sessions of the Presidium of Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, 1982, No 20, Article 20);

—the 16 June 1987 Ukase of the Presidium of Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, entitled "Making of Amendments to the Statute Governing the Procedure for Reviewing at the Presidium of Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet the Questions Linked With the Acceptance of Persons As Citizens of Azerbaijan SSR" (Minutes of Sessions of the Presidium of Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, 1987, No 21, Article 10).

3. [as in text] Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, prior to 1 January 1991, is to put the acts of the Government of Azerbaijan SSR into conformity with Azerbaijan SSR Law entitled "Citizenship in Azerbaijan SSR" and to guarantee the reconsideration or cancellation by USSR state committees and departments of their normative acts.

4. [as in text] Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs is to take steps to guarantee the execution of the requirements of Article 46 of the mentioned Law after it has gone into effect.

E. Kafarova, Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet.

Baku, 26 June 1990.

**New Belorussian Supreme Court Chairman**

90UN2554B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 13 Jul 90 p 1

[Decree: "On the Election of a Chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Court"]

[Text] The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

To elect Comrade Vladimir Sergeyevich Karavay chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

N. Dementey, chairman,  
Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.  
Minsk, 4 July 1990.

**Results of Belorussian Local People's Deputies Elections**

90UN2304A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 21 Jun 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Central Commission for Election of Belorussian SSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] Election results have been tallied for election of People's Deputies in the Belorussian SSR held between March and May 1990.

The elections were held on the basis of the new election law, which established a democratic mechanism for forming the republic's local organs of state rule. Testifying to this above all is the fact that in many electoral districts two or more candidates had registered for the single deputy's mandate. For example, in oblast Soviets, more than three persons (3.3) ran for a single deputy's seat; more than two candidates fought for the right to be elected to the rayon Soviets as well as in city Soviets for cities of oblast subordination; and somewhat less in city Soviets for cities of rayon subordination. Citizens of the republic capital, the oblast centers and other major cities displayed a great deal of interest in the formation of the corps of deputies of the local Soviets.

As indicated in the table published below, which was compiled on the basis of information from oblast Soviets and the Minsk City Soviet, the overwhelming majority of the people's deputies, in addition to the oblast Soviets and also the city and rayon Soviets of Minsk, were elected on General Election Day. In a number of electoral districts, people's deputies were elected in runoff and repeat elections. Repeat elections must still be held in 558 electoral districts.

Of those elected people's deputies of local Soviets, 30.9 percent are women; 15.7 percent, workers; and 28.2 percent, kolkhoz members. Sixty-three percent of the deputies are communists.

There was significant turnover in the corps of deputies of local Soviets. The majority of those elected (60.5 percent) were not members of the previous convocation of the Soviets. Moreover, in oblast Soviets, such deputies make up 82 percent; in rayon Soviets, 71.5 percent; in city Soviets in cities of republic and oblast subordination, 80.9 percent; in city Soviets in cities of rayon subordination, 71.6 percent; in urban rayon Soviets, 79.5 percent; in settlement Soviets, 63.4 percent; and in rural Soviets, 51.7 percent.

**INFORMATION on Results of Elections of People's Deputies to Local Soviets of the Belorussian SSR, as of 1 June 1990**

	Oblast Soviets	Rayon Soviets	City Soviets (Cities of Republic and Oblast Subordination)	City Soviets (Cities of Rayon Subordination)	Urban Rayon Soviets	Settlement Soviets	Rural Soviets	Soviets in the City of Minsk			Total for Republic
								City	Urban Rayon	Settlement	
Total Mandates	1,339	7,843	3,511	1,821	1,147	2,730	29,007	250	767	75	48,490
Total Candidates Nominated	4,545	11,379	8,701	3,109	2,501	3,905	33,542	1,794	2,222	181	71,879
Elected Deputies for All Rounds of Voting	1,292	7,796	3,365	1,793	1,095	2,715	28,994	186	623	73	47,932
<b>Including:</b>											
4 March Elections	680	7,152	2,068	1,430	537	2,486	28,365	15	311	43	43,987
In Runoff Elections	322	162	395	69	80	39	58	119	80	2	1,326
In Repeat Elections	290	482	902	294	478	190	571	52	232	28	3,519
Districts Remaining Open	47	47	146	28	52	15	13	64	144	2	558
<b>Among the Elected:</b>											
CPSU Members & Candidate Members	1,145	6,553	2,340	1,163	731	1,585	16,155	122	390	35	30,219
(As Percentage)	88.6	84.1	69.5	64.9	66.8	58.4	55.7	65.6	62.6	48.0	63.0
Komsomol Members	19	155	101	96	53	130	1,781	7	25	6	2,373
(As Percentage)	1.5	2.0	3.0	5.4	4.8	4.8	6.1	3.8	4.0	8.2	5.0
Women	127	1,382	658	557	249	961	10,728	17	120	22	14,821
(As Percentage)	9.8	17.7	19.6	31.1	22.7	35.4	37.0	9.0	19.3	30.1	30.9
Workers	97	670	656	336	231	564	4,807	16	111	15	7,503
(As Percentage)	7.5	8.6	19.5	18.7	21.1	20.8	16.6	8.6	17.8	20.5	15.7
Kolkhoz Members	121	2,081	10	11	2	292	10,997	—	—	—	13,514
(As Percentage)	9.4	26.7	0.3	0.6	0.2	10.8	37.9	—	—	—	28.2
Military Servicemen	45	174	139	56	33	26	58	9	20	10	570
(As Percentage)	3.5	2.2	4.1	3.1	3.0	1.0	0.2	4.8	3.2	13.7	1.2
Not Deputy in Last Convocation	1,060	5,577	2,721	1,284	870	1,722	14,995	168	531	59	28,987
(As Percentage)	82.0	71.5	80.9	71.6	79.5	63.4	51.7	90.3	85.2	80.8	60.5

**Belorussian Official on Economic Sanctions, Other Issues**

90UN2407A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 27 Jun 90 p 3

[Interview with Stanislav Stanislavovich Shushkevich, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, by A. Kaazik, ETA correspondent: "I Consider It

My Civil Duty to Instill Basic Order: Says the Belorussian Academic and Public Figure S. Shushkevich;" Minsk, Tallinn, date not given]

[Text] At the end of May, I had occasion to participate in a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR. During those days, I tried to meet with many deputies in order to describe through their comments the processes

taking place in the public life of Belorussia, their attitude towards our problems. Today we offer a conversation with the first deputy chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, Stanislav Stanislavovich Shushkevich.

[Correspondent] Stanislav Stanislavovich, since very little is written in our press about Belorussia, I would first like to introduce you to our readers. Prior to being elected first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, you were the prorector of the Belorussian State University?

[Shushkevich] Yes, the prorector for scientific work. By education I am a physicist. If we talk about your republic, you have the people's deputy of the USSR Endel Lippmaa. I work on the equipment for the research he conducts. This and other fields of structural and analytic instrument making are my specialty. Until the end of May, I directed the nuclear physics department at the university, but I understood that it is practically impossible to combine the two jobs. I therefore have retained the status of professor on a public basis.

[Correspondent] As a nuclear physicist, when talking with a reporter you probably want to start with Chernobyl; this topic is close to you from both the scientific and medical standpoints?

[Shushkevich] Yes, I had to work on radiation safety if for no other reason than to ensure the department's necessary work and to teach this to students, to study questions of dosimetry and radiometry, questions of radiation protection.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of what has and has not been done so far? With regard to the population of Belorussia.

[Shushkevich] You know, that is a very big question. I would like to recall the time when this occurred. We forget today how the system acted destructively on people in a whole series of cases. I view this not as deliberate evil actions by people or evidence of their ignorance, but as the result of their interconnections in this system. I can give you examples from the past of your republic, where people could be accused of unseemly actions, but you turned out to be above this. You look more at the long term, or in distant retrospect, which changes aspects of the historical understanding of the condition of your republic. In this case, we have a very near retrospect, and I would say that we had many unintentional errors, connected with the system.

At the same time, there were a whole series of errors which cannot be forgiven; for example, by scholars. If I were to be accused of acting with professional incompetence, I could not be forgiven for this. If the director of the Institute of Biophysics in Moscow, academician Ilin, asserts in the world press that we have conducted iodine preventive maintenance, I cannot forgive him for this. Neither as a scientist, nor as the first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, because he misled people. But our society must be magnanimous towards Soviet and Party

workers in view of the bonds which held them. Some kind of amnesty must be granted. But we continue to repeat past mistakes, accusing past officials.

[Correspondent] It's not accidental that I touched on this problem, because without a doubt questions related to Chernobyl inevitably affect the entire work of your Supreme Soviet. But in your opinion, what are the main questions which the republic's Supreme Soviet must resolve?

[Shushkevich] The main thing is the foundation. Those who see the foundation only through the prism of Chernobyl are not entirely correct. After all, any problems can be solved with a healthy economy and a law-based state, the priority of the law. Unfortunately, we do not have this. I therefore consider the main item to be the solution of the question of the true sovereignty of the republic. In contrast to the majority in your Supreme Soviet, we view this question differently, although I would in no way condemn your approach. Perhaps even because I know many of your deputies and the Baltic group in general, I see how seriously they take this. We have different historical foundations, another approach to this question and different realities. In particular, our ties with the center, with Russia, are now so strong that we have no other recourse, at least in the near term, than to find a common path. It is important to me that we have finally won the right which states that a person should live as he works. On the national scale, some now work well, while others live well. In Belorussia, we produce two rubles, 14 kopecks worth of goods for each ruble of wages, but there is nothing in the stores to buy. And how do republics manage which produce 18 kopecks worth of goods and live just as well? I find this striking and outrageous. We must find an economic mechanism of regulation, so that a man is interested in the results of his own labor. I think we will have a common approach here.

The most important is that we need to create a healthy economy, one not subjected to an administrative distribution system, because otherwise the feedback is lost. But with us this feedback loop goes through a mountain of bureaucratic obstacles. Unneeded structures must be destroyed. I simply consider it my civil duty to instill basic order where, from a scientific standpoint, it is absent.

[Correspondent] So what is your attitude towards the concept of "center," which supposedly should be strong for us to both be happy?

[Shushkevich] The interpretation of the idea of "center" changed completely after the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies. It used to be interpreted such that the center and Russia are synonyms. We have now seen that Russia as well generally does not understand what kind of structure has been created: an inter-republic concern, which is called the center and owns a great deal and complicates our relations. I understand that we can give the center, i.e., the USSR Congress of People's Deputies,

the government and the USSR Council of Ministers, certain functions, but republic laws must take priority. I do not have the right to offer any advice, but I think that with the Baltic republics a variant could be found where it would be to your advantage to transfer certain functions to the center. But advantageous to your, not to the center.

[Correspondent] How do you personally evaluate the composition of the new Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, or is this question premature?

[Shushkevich] No, it is not premature. I have a very high estimate of the intellectual potential of the people in our Supreme Soviet. It's another matter that the systemic links of which I spoke earlier are not being quickly broken down. We are already talking about a Belorussian version, which is totally unexpected for our parliament. We have no such traditions as you. And if you would attend the session you would see that completely new personalities have appeared who before were totally unknown. And the opposition, initially directed against the representatives of the Belorussian People's Front, against those meeting on the square in front of the Supreme Soviet building, is shifting to constructive interaction. Because the people on the square simply want to get their information firsthand. And this is important to us as well. Every day after work, I go out onto the square, and more and more deputies join us.

[Correspondent] This is a sort of citizens' meeting with deputies?

[Shushkevich] Yes, our meetings with the people of Minsk. For example, yesterday they promised to invite veterans to the square, and I think I will also go. I have a very unique relationship with veterans, they strongly supported me in the first people's deputy elections, while relations with them in the second round of elections were very complex. They accused me of extremism, but now understand that they were incorrect.

[Correspondent] I don't know whether it's ethical to ask your opinion of your Lithuanian neighbors, and about the Baltics in general.

[Shushkevich] I never avoid any question. I said that at the meeting of the Baltic group in Moscow, that I consider a great merit of the Baltic deputies the fact that they can understand people and bring them together with such enthusiasm. But unfortunately, the people's enthusiasm has by far not always led to humanistic results... I know that there is an extremely loyal attitude at present in Lithuania towards the Belorussian ethnic minority. There is a very admirable attitude towards monuments of Belorussian culture. Bear in mind that to a certain extent Vilnius is also a treasurehouse of ancient Belorussian culture. Everything here has been wiped out.

I support the clear preservation of postwar borders. Because we can always advance border claims, and this will always be an unresolved question. But a worthy preservation of these borders is only possible with a

worthy attitude towards our ethnic minority. By the way, I do not approve of many of our decisions and statements, but I support our establishing proper relations.

[Correspondent] And your attitude towards historical symbols?

[Shushkevich] Any symbol can always be accused of something bad. For example, the Belorussian People's Republic has existed with a white-red-white banner. That flag was then taken by the fascists, who understood that they could gain something by it. So does that mean that we should afterwards renounce this symbol? That is not an argument. In general, there are many blank spots in our Belorussian history, and in general I believe that in contrast to physics and mathematics there will never be a uniform interpretation in history. So I have a very respectful attitude towards symbols.

[Correspondent] And your opinion of the economic sanctions of the President of the Union against Lithuania?

[Shushkevich] I think that before imposing economic sanctions on Lithuania the President of the Union should have consulted thoroughly with the government of sovereign Belorussia and its Supreme Soviet. These sanctions to a certain degree turned out to be sanctions against Belorussia. So how can I approve of sanctions which have a negative impact on my own republic? I think that not everything was done correctly here, by far. I think mutual concessions are in order. I would like to live to the day when the people of Lithuania wish to enter the Union of their own accord, when that would be to their advantage. They entered this Union not of their own accord. I am convinced of that. The same is also true of your republic. Europe is moving towards integration, a union is to its advantage, but we evidently must still live through the stage of disassociation. I would like it to be as short as possible. That is my dream.

[Correspondent] Could you be described as a person who supports the ideas of the Belorussian Popular Front?

[Shushkevich] In both my campaign platform and in speeches to voters I said that I support about 95 percent of the positions of the Popular Front. And the Popular Front supported me. But having said that, any sort of shuffling is possible with these five percent. So I adopted their platform, crossed out what I did not agree with, and gave it to the Popular Front leaders Trusov and Pozdnyak, so they would not say later that I had betrayed their ideas. Pozdnyak and I gave an interview together; he expressed his ideas, and I mine. He is a very interesting person. But I would like to say that it is not always justified to spend energy on a large number of emotions. I favor concrete steps, even small ones. To a certain degree I am proud that in preparing for this session of the Supreme Soviet I was able to not leave the meeting of the preliminary group. Above all, I am proud that we did not split up at this stage of the preparation. And this yielded results in the first days of the parliament's work. We very frequently call for consolidation, but there can be no

consolidation on an unprincipled foundation. I favor a tolerant basis, finding common solutions.

[Correspondent] Thank you and good luck.

### **Estonian Gorkom Chiefs on Future of Party Organizations**

90UN2468A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII  
in Russian 10 Jul 90 p 1

[Interview with Sillamyae Party Gorkom First Secretary Yu. Tolmachev, Narva Party Gorkom First Secretary V. Malkovskiy, and Kokhtla—Yarveskiy Party Gorkom First Secretary N. Zakharov by MOLODEZH ESTONII Correspondent I. Ristmyagi: "This is the Sweet Word of Freedom"]

[Text] The chairman announces a 30 minute recess after each two hour work session. And again—at the middle of the day—an hour and a half break for lunch. During these breaks, the Palace of Congresses foyer (it is reminiscent of the hall during sessions—exhausted reclining and dozing television journalists, camera operators, and lighting operators have occupied the chairs and easy chairs) is filled with arguing, talking, and gesticulating people. For some, it is precisely here that serious work begins, a genuine exchange of views and clarification of opinions. At least, this is what Kokhtla—Yarveskiy Party Gorkom First Secretary Nikolay Zakharov told me when he met me in the "smoking room." And to one side, Sillamyae Party Gorkom First Secretary Yuriy Tolmachev and Narva Party Gorkom First Secretary Vladimir Malkovskiy had finished the last pack of "Ekstras" (There is a terrible shortage of cigarettes both throughout Moscow and in the Palace snack bars). And since there were no out-of-towners and, naturally, more interesting people alongside them to talk to at that moment, I asked them to use this hour and a half to talk about how they see the work of leading Party organizations under new conditions. For example, I have formed the impression that many leading organizations without any statements or declarations, as if they themselves would rather not, are actually ceasing their activities and simply do not know what to do or how to do it and it is fine if they just continue to collect dues. How do they help us, rank and file communists, to come out of the involuntary stagnation into which ambiguous, contradictory, and previous experience that the perestroika process has refuted have plunged us?

[Tolmachev] Yes, now all of us have to learn [how to do] Party work all over again. The production plan, material supply, and social, cultural, life style—these directions now have true bosses: Administration and trade unions. The people are left to us. To support those who have despaired, to explain to those who are vacillating, and to protect the victims—there are more and more of them. Do I say it in general terms? But really the entire essence is actually to assign primary importance to people—with their concerns, troubles, and their right to a worthy life.

The complexity of the current period consists of the fact that we now have to act independently. In fact this has turned out to be more difficult, much more difficult than previously when they precisely and clearly ordered both the directions, the forms of work, and even meeting agendas to us. Party organs always cursed this diktat, demanded freedom of action, and now we cannot and we do not know how to deal with this long-awaited freedom. Even in minor details. You recall what you heard during the Auditing Commission Report at the Congress: Last year leading organizations who now receive a certain percentage of total membership dues collected did not spend 12 million [rubles]. This year, an additional 40 million [rubles] is being added to this total. No one knows what to do with this money although no one interferes if they use it at their discretion.

[Malkovskiy] We need to learn independence and we need to learn it quickly. The CPSU Charter and Republic Communist Party normative acts are also significantly broadening the rights of leading Party organizations. This only increases their role locally and it is already impossible to cast a reproach at them that they act on orders from above and not for the sake of the collective. Not programmed announcements but the prestige of communists in the workers collective will decide many things under conditions of a real multi-party system.

And as for dues, it seems to me that we do not need to overdo it. Of course, we can leave all of the dues down to the last kopek in the leading organizations. Then, tell me, how will gorkoms operate? How will we conduct a demonstration, pay the orchestra, and decorate the facility? Today, maybe more than previously, people are being drawn to such activities. Now all of this has to be paid just from Party coffers and local authorities will not render any assistance whatsoever. And it is that way everywhere—from the Carpathians to the Kurile Islands. We need to come to an agreement with leading Party organizations—how much of the dues that belong to them will they transfer to their raykom and gorkom and for what needs—this is already proceeding from specific local conditions. In short, we need to learn how to flexibly utilize our own monetary assets. For example, some organization wants to transfer a monthly sum to a charitable fund and another wants to transfer a certain percentage for a long period of time. Of course we are learning to use our own Party budget—really, leading organizations can now create their own auditing commissions—there would be something for them to take charge of: If the dues amount totals one percent of wages, the Party's bankruptcy due to financial destitution is inevitable.

[Tolmachev] I would like to once again remind you of this common truth: Freedom is the opportunity to select. During this aspect of our conversation, we are talking about leading organizations' ability to interest and attract people, really all of them now have a choice—to be registered at their production organization or to transfer to the territorial organization. As a result of this,



right now the role of leader is increasing as never before and it is simply being advanced to the top priority. Now the fate of the organization to a decisive degree depends on the secretary and it depends on a communist's personal choice. There really is a reason that this is being heard both in the corridors and from the rostrums: I do not want to be in the Party.... Let us say, Polozkov. Or you can place names of people who more often than not conduct this argument with regard to our republic events.

[Malkovskiy] There are also other, let us say it this way, objective arguments. Many people link their own affiliation with the Party depending on its social choice. The congress is certainly dwelling on social orientation. And the working class, peasantry, and workers remain the CPSU's social base. It is still early to talk about a national party. Stratification and delimitation are occurring in society and agreement is still very far away. Yesterday, this was heard in a speech: What are we talking about—about a party of workers or a party of entrepreneurs? And we cannot avoid the question about what assets we will use to construct human and democratic socialism.

[Ristmyagi] We involuntarily transitioned from the specific to the general, from the Party cell to the Party as a whole. The thought repeatedly rang out in the political report: Right now the main thing is for the Party to achieve a nationwide social agreement in our state that has been shaken by revolutionary perestroika. How do we carry out this call for help?

[Tolmachev] Only through a real priority of human values brought down from an appeal to practice before everything else: state, class, national, and Party.

[Zakharov] The question is, will we be able to reject dogmatic regulations and they, oh!, have sort of entangled each of us—both right and left, both national and cosmopolitan. Everyone—in the blinders of their own ideas. Can we find common ground, having cast aside intolerance and discord? Really even here, at the congress, intolerance very often triumphs over common sense. We need to sort out our position on these indisputable issues—revival of the economy and social programs. We need to postpone theoretical arguments for later. Although, of course, I agree with Malkovskiy that it is hard to agree if the social selection is different, if we have to cross ever widening material inequality, waste, though meager but nevertheless guaranteed social rights of prosperity, education, and equal opportunities for society. And I think there are grounds for cooperation and agreement within our Republic Communist Party. We have differed on the definition of independence and let this remain an object of discussion. But we can and must unite on everything that is occurring for the benefit of the working man and that protects his interests.

[Tolmachev] The program of E. Savisaar's government that has been variously perceived by the deputies and population has much in common with the CPSU's

economic concept. Both envision steps toward European integration. Are we really not allies in this? Although, of course, we should not avoid alternative versions—should we knock on the door of the European home all together or just the Baltic states.

[Zakharov] We can also say the same thing about the privatization of property. Our goals diverge in principle and we need to approach them through leasing enterprises and stock societies. Agreement on these issues will not at all place us in a position to explain to people that the alienation of state enterprises from their workers and their transfer into the hands of the previous owners—and in reality—to their heirs who themselves have not personally invested a ruble in this enterprise or lifted a finger in its formation, all of this is unjust and then we cannot talk about equal opportunities for everyone.

[Malkovskiy] A few more words about agreement in the Party. Much of what was so actively discussed at the congress was simply inappropriate for us, we are operating under different conditions and we could even find ourselves [engaged] in underground activity. Just like far from everything that we propose would be appropriate in other regions. It would be fine if we could find our positions on goals and social choice and grant freedom in all the rest.

**Estonian Pro-CPSU Delegates Assess Party Congress**  
*90UN2468B Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII*  
*in Russian 19 Jul 90 p 1*

[Article by Yu. Surov: "About What Remained Behind the Scenes"]

[Text] A meeting took place at the Tallinn Officers' Club with a group of Estonian Communist Party delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress who stand for organizational unity with the CPSU. The following personnel participated: A. Gusev, P. Panfilov, I. Borodin, V. Yermolayev, V. Kovtun, L. Annus, and I. Shepelevich.

Those who gathered were primarily interested in questions about the tactical struggle at the congress, what occurred in its corridors, and what was not seen from television screens or did not end up on the pages of the press. The delegates discussed in detail that their small group, consisting of a total of nine men, conducted very aggressive work among other delegates at the congress since it had been quite rapidly ascertained that the situation in the Estonian Communist Party is completely unclear for the absolute majority. They pointed out that a turning point with regard to this problem occurred among its delegates toward the middle of the congress and that the attitude improved toward the Communist Party that is standing on a position of unity. While talking about the congress' results for the Republic Party organization, the delegates noted that the results were successful for their "faction" and confirmed the validity of the decisions made at the 20th Estonian CP Congress. While answering the question, is E.-A. Sillari's election

to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo not recognition of the recently Independent Estonian Communist Party, A. Gusev said that, during a personal conversation with him, M.S. Gorbachev expressed the opinion that the seat in the Politburo for Estonia's representative must be kept in reserve until the results of the 21st Estonian CP Congress. However, it did not remain vacant. They elected Sillari. Obviously, many people imagined that this would create the preconditions for uniting the Republic Communist Party after the March split.

A. Gusev noted that the situation at the congress was very tense from the very beginning since two opposing trends predominated—to be a union of Communist Parties or to preserve unity. Demplatform [Democratic Platform] representatives even stated that they would quit if the congress' decisions did not satisfy them. The tense situation arose during approval of the mandate commission's conclusions with regard to the authority of three delegates from Nagornyy Karabakh. The congress arrived at a compromise decision taken on the basis of the validity of the election procedure. This also applies to Estonian delegates where the situation was similar. The speaker noted that they succeeded in introducing fundamental amendments to a number of important documents thanks to active work in commissions and in speeches via microphone.

The delegates repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction with the course of mass media coverage of the congress since these organs could not avoid a biased nature. Thus, TsT [Central Television] broadcast Ukrainian CP Central Committee First Secretary Comrade Gurenko's speech that criticized Gorbachev and commented on it in such a way that the Ukrainian Communist Party leader had spoken against Gorbachev. Gurenko had to announce a protest the next day and explain that criticism and unpleasant policies are different things.

Critical moments arose twice during the congress when it could have resulted in a split. The first time was when a demand was heard to assess the activities of each Politburo member. The congress manifested prudence at that time. The second time—during election of Central Committee members according to the so-called second list—85 people passed through it and there were 99 candidates. According to the voting results, among the 14 "extras" were people who are well-known throughout the country. But even here we managed to reach a compromise.

Viktor Yermolayev began his speech with a joke: "Thousands of people sat down for all congresses and presidiums and only one refused." He explained his rejection and replacement by the principle of parity. He dwelled extensively on the complications of the mandate commission's work and described the situation which had developed with regard to the Estonian Communist Party due to the development of pre-congress events associated primarily with the Russian CP Congress.

Igor Shepelevich said that many also successfully spoke before delegations at commissions (editorial, on a market economy, on interethnic relations, and on the Charter) and forced their way to the microphone. While answering the question on what factors influenced the decision to combine the posts of President and Secretary General, he noted three points of view: The Party considers it an honor to have the President as its leader; "Gorbachev himself made his bed, now let him lie in it"; and, the Party's prestige can hold out longer on this...

Igor Borodin, a Privileges Commission member, said that they had to determine what privileges they had, what they have, and what is worth keeping at all. Incidentally, USSR Supreme Soviet deputies also could not resolve anything for now. The Secretary General himself answered these questions. Gorbachev constantly has an escort of three vehicles with special "fillings"—and even with that very fatal button which it is true has a blocking system in another location. This equipment is also necessary to establish immediate communications. The Secretary General has two State dachas—one near Moscow and one in the south. There is one Zhiguli automobile for the entire family. Of the remaining top leadership, Ryzhkov and Lukyanov have State dachas. Others also have State dachas but they pay for their maintenance from personal funds.

Vladimir Kovtun noted the delegates' high public activity. The desire to speak on the rostrum was expressed by 1,498 delegates and nearly 6,000 proposals came in on the draft Charter. A very tense conversation occurred during the Secretary General's meeting with gorkom and raykom secretaries. There was a moment when Gorbachev even quit his position as leader and proposed that anyone who wanted to could become Secretary General. The Brest Gorkom Secretary subjected the accounting report to criticism and said that he would have been voted down after such a report at a city conference. Gorbachev found the right thing to say and proposed republishing and reproducing that report for the edification of others. Journalists were not permitted at this meeting at the request of the delegates and obviously the secretaries played pranks on the Secretary General.

Pavel Panfilov familiarized us with some delegate poll results. Seventy percent advocated a federation of union republics. To the question about what they assign primary importance to when deciding state issues—the priority of nations or the individual, only three percent advocated the first variant. The absolute leader in the ratings is Gorbachev. Farther back after a large gap are Yakovlev, Ryzhkov, Bakatin, and Ligachev. The absolute majority sees the new Party leadership as "a bit more to the left, a bit younger, and a bit wiser."

They talked in detail about the so-called Annus Amendment that passed in the end after very difficult debates and opposition from the Secretary General. It had already been pointed out at the congress that this is the first instance when Gorbachev's basic position has not

prevailed. But there have been cases when he has managed to completely change the hall's mind. One of the delegates even publicly asserted that the Secretary General knows hypnosis and that he should not be given the opportunity to influence the hall.

In conclusion, the delegates called for the observance of the 50th Anniversary of Restoration of Soviet Rule in Estonia through rallies in workers collectives and by placing flowers at monuments and memorials. And a festive gathering will occur on July 20th at 1500 hours at the Tallinn Officers' Club.

### Resolutions From Uzbek Supreme Soviet Passed

#### Elections to Constitutional Supervisory Committee

90US1149A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
24 Jun 90 p 2

[Resolution of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, dated 19 June 1990: "On Election of Deputy Chairman and Members of Uzbek SSR Constitutional Supervisory Committee"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR resolves:

To elect Rauf Kayumov, docent and candidate of legal sciences, department head, Tashkent Higher School of the USSR MVD, to the position of deputy chairman of the Constitutional Supervisory Committee of the Uzbek SSR.

To elect as members of the Uzbek SSR Constitutional Supervisory Committee:

Velikanov, Vladimir Dmitriyevich, head of department of state and law, Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee;

Izimbetov, Tazhen, professor, candidate of philosophical sciences, department head, Nukus State University;

Mirkhamidov, Mirshakhid, candidate of legal sciences, deputy dean of the law school, Tashkent State University imeni V. I. Lenin;

Nasyrov, Pulat, doctor of economic sciences, department head, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics;

Saidov, Akmal Kholmatovich, candidate of legal sciences, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Committee of Youth Organizations;

Skripnikov, Nikolay Kuzmich, candidate of legal sciences, sector head, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law;

Tadzhiev, Tursun, candidate of legal sciences, head of legal aid, Chilanarskiy Rayon, city of Tashkent;

Teshabayev, Mamatkhan, candidate of legal sciences, acting department docent, Tashkent Higher Party School;

Khakimova, Sayera Abdullayevna, candidate of legal sciences, section chief, Uzbek SSR Prosecutor's Office.

Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet M. Ibragimov

Tashkent, 19 June 1990

### Formation of Constitutional Commission

90US1149B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
24 Jun 90 p 2

[Resolution of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, dated 20 June 1990: "On Formation of Constitutional Commission"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic resolves:

To form a Constitutional Commission, with the following membership:

#### Commission Chairman

Karimov, Islam Abdulganiyevich, President of the Uzbek SSR, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan

#### Commission Deputy Chairman

Ibragimov, Mirzaolim Ibragimovich, Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet

#### Commission Members

Abdullayev, Rakhmatulla Khamidullayevich, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Veterans and Disabled Affairs;

Abdumadzhidov, Gafur, professor, doctor of legal sciences, head of the department of criminology, Tashkent Higher School of the USSR MVD;

Abdurakhmanov, Pulat Madzhitovich, chairman, Samarkand Oblast soviet of people's deputies, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Abutalipov, Cherniyaz Abutalipovich, editor in chief of the magazine UZBEKISTON KOMMUNISTI - KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA;

Agzamkhodzhaev, Alisher Anvarovich, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Youth Affairs;

Aydarkulov, Abdukalyk Abdurakhmanovich, first secretary, Syr-Darya Oblast Committee, Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Alimdzhanov, Aman Khamidovich, candidate of legal sciences, chief, secretariat, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet;

Alimova, Khalimakhon, chairman of Uzbek Trade Union Council, USSR people's deputy;

Askarov, Akhmadali, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Culture, Science, Public Education and Protection of the Cultural Heritage, academician-secretary, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences;

Bakibayev, Erkin Dzhurayevich, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Planning and Financial Affairs and Budget;

Vakhidov, Erkin Vakhidovich, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Glasnost, Uzbekistan people's poet;

Gataulin, Shamil Kadyrovich, chairman, executive committee, Bukhara Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Grishchuk, Vladimir Gavrilovich, second secretary, Tashkent Oblast Committee, Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Dzhalilov, Abdulakhat Turapovich, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Environmental Affairs and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources, rector, Tashkent Pedagogic Institute imeni A. R. Beruni;

Yeshimbetova, Tursun Allambergenovna, chairman, Kara-Kalpak ASSR Supreme Soviet, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Yefimov, Anatoliy Stepanovich, second secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Zakharov, Aleksandr Imametdinovich, chief of Political Directorate of Red-Banner Turkestan Military District, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Zakhritdinov, Gulyam Zakhritdinovich, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Transportation, Roads, Communications, and Information Science;

Ziyatov, Parda, brigade leader, Moskva Kolkhoz, Dzhizakskiy Rayon, Dzhizak Oblast, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Kadyrov, Primkul Kadyrovich, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Interethnic Affairs, Language and Internationalist Education, Uzbekistan people's writer;

Kamalov, Vyacheslav Mukhtarovich, Minister of Internal Affairs, Uzbek SSR;

Kozlov, Vladimir Alekseyevich, team leader, millwright-installer team, PMK-2, Golodnostepirmontazh Trust, Syr-Darya Oblast, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Kochmarik, Izidor Andreyevich, second secretary, Andizhan Oblast Committee, Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Malikov, Mukhamed-Bobir Madzhidovich, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Court;

Mirziyayev, Shavkat Miramanovich, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet credentials committee;

Mirsaidov, Shukurulla Rakhmatovich, Chairman, Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Mikhaylov, Azarya Natenelovich, head of department of Soviet state organizational development and law, Tashkent Higher Party School;

Morgasov, Anatoliy Sergeyevich, chairman, Uzbek SSR KGB;

Mukhamedov, Rustam Mukhamedovich, candidate of legal sciences, section chief, Uzbek SSR Prosecutor's Office;

Mukhammadsaid, Khozhi Akhmadzhon Rakhmatullo ugli, chief imam-khotib, Khorezm Oblast, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Mukhitdinov, Nuritdin Akramovich, chairman, Society for the Protection of Uzbekistan Historical and Cultural Sites;

Niyetullayev, Sagyndyk Dauletiyarovich, first secretary, Kara-Kalpak Oblast Committee, Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Pinkhasov, Boris Ilich, doctor of legal sciences, director, Institute of Forensic Expert Testimony (TashNIIE);

Rakhmankulov, Khodzhiakbar Rakhmankulovich, doctor of legal sciences, director, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law;

Rakhmanov, Rasul Rakhmanovich, editor of the newspaper SOVET UZBEKISTONI, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Rezhapov, Takhirzhon Bekmirzayevich, leaseholder, Kolkhoz imeni Kuybyshev, Altynkulskiy Rayon, Andizhan Oblast, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Rustamova, Zukhra Karimovna, member, Syr-Darya Oblast Court, USSR people's deputy;

Saidov, Akmal Kholmatovich, candidate of legal sciences, chairman, Uzbek SSR Committee of Youth Organizations;

Salakhitdinov, Makhmud, president, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Safarov, Ruben Akopovich, editor of newspaper PRAVDA VOSTOKA;

Tashkenbayev, Alisher Kholmuradovich, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Agrarian Affairs and Water Management;

Teshaboyeva, Ekhtibor, milkmaid, Uzbekistan Kolkhoz, Kuvinskiy Rayon, Fergana Oblast, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Urazayev, Shavkat Zakariyevich, doctor of legal sciences, chairman, Uzbek SSR Constitutional Supervisory Committee;

Usatov, Dmitriy Aleksandrovich, Uzbek SSR Public Prosecutor, Uzbek SSR people's deputy

Usmanova, Khalima Melikuziyevna, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Health, Women's Affairs, Protection of Mother and Child;

Fazylbekov, Atkhambek Ibragimovich, chairman, Tashkent City Soviet of People's Deputies, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Khabibulayev, Askhad Sharipovich, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Construction, Architecture, Housing and Municipal/Public Services and Amenities;

Khabibullayev, Pulat, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on International Affairs, head of thermal physics section, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences;

Khaydarov, Toychi, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Industry, Consumer Goods, Public Services and Trade;

Khakimov, Egamberdi Khakimovich, doctor of legal sciences, chief scientific associate, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law;

Khalikov, Nemat, chief, justice administration, Samarkand Oblast Executive Committee;

Khalilov, Erkin Khamdamovich, candidate of legal sciences, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, Rule of Law and Legal Order;

Khalimov, Kholik, chairman, Kolkhoz imeni Chkalov, Khatyrchinskiy Rayon, Samarkand Oblast, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Khachaturov, Robert Albertovich, Uzbek SSR Chief State Arbitrator;

Khidirov, Temir Pulatovich, chairman, executive committee, Kashka-Darya Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Khudayberdiyeva, Khalima Ummatkulova, editor in chief of magazine SAODAT, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Khusanov, Avazberdi, brigade leader, Kolkhoz imeni Baymuradov, Dzarkurganskiy Rayon, Surkhan-Darya Oblast, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Shaykhov, Erkin Turdyevich, rector, Tashkent Agricultural Institute, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Eshonkulov, Nizom, brigade leader, 60 let SSSR Sovkhoz, Bukhara Oblast, Uzbek SSR people's deputy;

Yuldashev, Abduvakhob Abdusamatovich, chairman, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Economic Reform and Local Self-Government;

Yuldashev, Abdukakhkhar Abdurakhmanovich, head of legal department, secretariat, Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet;

Yusupov, Erkin Yusupovich, vice-president of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, rector, Tashkent State University imeni V. I. Lenin, USSR people's deputy.

Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet M. Ibragimov

Tashkent, 20 June 1990.

### Protection of Uzbek President

90US1149C Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
24 Jun 90 p 2

[Resolution of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, dated 20 June 1990: "On Provisions and Services for and Protection of the President of the Uzbek SSR"]

[Text] In order to ensure effective exercise of the authorities of the President of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic as established by the Constitution of the Uzbek SSR, the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR resolves:

1. To specify the following state provisions and services for the President of the Uzbek SSR:

—salary in the amount of 1,500 rubles per month, to be taxable;

—during the term in office as President of the Uzbek SSR: residences in the republic's capital, the city of Tashkent, and in Tashkent Oblast, and an official apartment in the city of Tashkent;

—a specially-equipped airplane;

—special automobile transportation;

—security and protection, to be provided by the Uzbek SSR Committee for State Security.

Expenditures by the President of the Uzbek SSR for purposes of representation within the country and during visits to foreign states shall be paid, within the limits of generally accepted standards, from the State Budget of the Uzbek SSR.

2. Protection and transportation for the spouse and family of the President of the Uzbek SSR shall be provided by the Uzbek SSR Committee for State Security.

3. Upon retirement the President of the Uzbek SSR shall receive for life:

- a pension in the amount of 1,000 rubles per month;
- a state apartment with requisite staff, security detail, and transportation.4. To determine that, beginning in 1991, a special article shall be provided in the State

Budget of the Uzbek SSR pertaining to financing the activities of the President of the Uzbek SSR.

Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet M. Ibragimov

Tashkent, 20 June 1990.

### Yerevan Professor Views Nationalities Policies in Federation Context

90US1208A Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
18 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by Professor Lyudvig Karapetyan of Yerevan State University: "The Sovereignty of Peoples in a Multinational State"]

[Text] The question of the radical transformation of the Soviet federation is being intensely discussed on different, very authoritative levels from scientific audiences to the plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. After extended discussions of this diverse and very complex problem, we have now reached the most crucial point in elaborating the fundamental recommendations the adoption and proclamation of which the new USSR Constitution will be of truly fateful significance for our multinational state. At present, Prof. Lyudvig Karapetyan of Yerevan State University voices his opinion on this very urgent problem.

The basic directions in the strategy of a radical transformation of the Soviet federation and over which debates have developed were formulated in two principles of the CPSU Platform for the 28th Party Congress. The first is the principle of the self-determination of nations in the renewed Soviet federation and this assumes the freedom of the national state formations to choose the form of organizing life, the institutions and symbols of statedom. The second is the improving of the Soviet federative state and this assumes a strengthening of sovereignty, the broadening of the rights of the autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs and their possibility of independently resolving the major questions of their life.

It is not difficult to see that these provisions basically conform to the generally recognized standards of international law on the question of equality and sovereignty of peoples and in them one can see the idea of reversed and ensuring democratic opportunities for all peoples to determine their fate within or without the Soviet federation.

In this context at present it is wise to pay proper respect to the historical accomplishments of the Russian Social Democrats and this was primarily in the fact that in their programs for the revolutionary transformation of society, they defined democratic ways for creating a new multinational state and for resolving the nationality question. Although the approaches changed to the problems of federation and autonomy, the underlying principles rested on the highly humane ideals elaborated over the centuries of freedom, equality and fraternity between peoples.

In our opinion, the basis of permanent democratic demands in the sphere of interethnic relations and national statedom is the primacy of the sovereignty of the people. Proceeding from this, in our concept of the fundamental transformation of the Soviet federation, we

proceed from a recognition of the primacy of the sovereignty of all peoples and their national state formations. Certainly, in the "Declaration of the Rights of the Russian Peoples" adopted in November 1917, "equality and sovereignty of peoples" was proclaimed as the initial basis for the activities of the Soviet multinational state which was being founded.

As is also known, as a result of the Stalinist "autonomization," the sovereignty of the Union republics was turned into a fiction while the autonomous formations were created in such a manner that they were under a multiple subordination. Moreover, a concept was proclaimed and at present prevails according to which the autonomous formations should not have sovereignty. Over the ages, progressive mankind has struggled for the sovereignty of even the individual while the Stalinist regime deprived entire peoples of their sovereignty. And not only deprived but also affirmed the antidemocratic idea which became insurmountable that national state autonomy and sovereignty are incompatible.

The scientific literature persuasively shows that all forms of national formations should have definite sovereignty. But it can be said that in the Soviet Union around 130 nations and nationalities exist and their representatives live in various regions of the nation, outside their own national republics, and many of them do not have a national state formation. Also recalled is the organizing of the federations of other countries. However, our opponents in the approach to the sovereignty problem do not consider that most essential and crucial factor that in the Soviet federation it is not a random conglomerate of persons of different nationalities which is brought together but rather basically peoples residing compactly on their territory. And if they comprise ethnic and territorial unities and can establish a national state formation, then in a democratic society they have the right to obtain such status with the corresponding equal sovereignty. On this question a rather clear explanation has been provided by the First Deputy Chairman of the Russian SFSR Supreme Soviet, Prof. R. Khasbulatov. "In the first place," he pointed out, "autonomies are not administrative units (like oblasts and krays), but rather specific units although with limited but still statedom. They are recognized as full-righted principals both in the Russian SFSR and USSR.

"Secondly, their statedom is proclaimed in regions where the specific nations reside compactly on territories which historically belong to these nations" (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 28, 1990). For this reason, in a democratic society there should not be dominance (or "first-rank") nations with a sovereign republic and subordinate (or "second-rank") ones deprived of sovereignty.

Some opponents in the attempt to prove the validity of the currently existing autonomous formations with their too limited legal status, refer to the works of V.I. Lenin and the party's program documents. But they "forget" that these raised the issue of granting the peoples broad

national autonomy in the most direct and immediate sense of this word—independence.

The initial concept of resolving the nationality question in a socialist society excluded a federation and proceeded from the necessity of granting peoples the right to autonomous self-determination. Even then there was no concept of an "Union republic." The latter appeared in line with the unification of the Soviet republics in the single Union. But this did not mean that the autonomous formations should enter the Union through the Union republics. As is known, the supporters of establishing a truly democratic federation were against the unequal entry of many peoples into it.

However, the "autonomization" prevailed and many peoples were deprived of the sovereign and free-will determination of their fate. Such an unequal status of the autonomous formations deriving from the Stalinist times is recognized even in the CPSU Platform "Party Nationality Policy Under Present-Day Conditions." This is constantly mentioned at the congresses of people's deputies and in the sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as at conferences and symposiums. However, when the issue arises of a practical abandoning of the condemned theory and practice of Stalinist "autonomization," then reformist measures are offered up which change nothing and in essence everything remains in the old manner. In other words, on the one hand, the task has been put forward of a radical transformation of the Soviet federation and, on the other, this comes down to insignificant reforms which do not change the essence of "autonomization."

"The reformist in the nationality program," emphasized Lenin, "does not eliminate all the privileges of the dominant nation, it does not create true equality of rights and does not remove any national suppression.... An 'autonomous' nation is not the equal of a 'power' nation" (PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 30, p 42). As the lamentable experience of the past decades has shown, certain indigenous nations representing the Union republics have often shown and do show themselves to be "power" nations in relation to the peoples in the autonomous formations and the result of this is the interethnic conflicts accompanied by bloodshed.

The reformist concept in nationality policy, unfortunately, has also been incorporated in the Law "On Delimiting the Powers Between the USSR and the Principals of Soviet Federation" recently adopted by the Supreme Soviet. Undoubtedly, this law is of great importance even in the fact that for the first time in the history of our multinational state, recognized as principals of the federation are not only the Union republics but also the autonomous formations. Moreover, the first article of the Law states: "The relations of the autonomous republics and autonomous formations with the Union republics of which they are part are defined by agreements and treaties...." And Article 3 states: "The territory of the Union or autonomous republic, the autonomous formation cannot be altered without its agreement...." These

and certain other fundamental provisions in the mentioned law mark a positive course toward recognizing the sovereignty of the autonomous formations. However, at the same time their inequality is maintained in the most important thing, the recognition of sovereignty. Thus, in Article 1 of the Law, the Union republics are characterized as "sovereign Soviet socialist states....," while the autonomous republics are "Soviet socialist states," without the indicating of "sovereignty." One might ask whether it is possible to be a state formation without sovereignty?

Certainly there cannot be the identity in the volume and content of the sovereignty of the Union republics and autonomous formations equal to the one between the sovereignty of the USSR and the Union republics. However, this does not mean a negation of the sovereignty of any national state formation. In political and legal science there is a generally recognized concept of the relationship and interdependence between national sovereignty and state sovereignty. But, under the pressure of deputies from a number of the Union republics, the essence of the scientific concept of the sovereignty of peoples in the autonomous formations was not clearly reinforced in the Law "On the Delimitation of Powers Between the USSR and the Principals of Federation." Moreover, the full rights of the Union republics in relation to the autonomous formations is again proclaimed. In practical policy this means preserving the inequality between the peoples and the subordination of some peoples to others.

This stereotype of Stalinist "autonomization" has also been kept in the program statement of the 28th CPSU Congress which states the party line of strengthening the sovereignty of only the Union republics and "increasing the constitutional status of the national autonomous formations, the evening out of their levels in political terms with the autonomous republics." Need one prove the half-hearted essence of such a change which does not free the autonomous formations from subordination to the Union republics? Certainly as a result they do not acquire sovereignty.

It is not difficult to note that on this fundamental question in the program statement of the CPSU Congress, one can see a deviation from the CPSU Platform "Party Nationality Policy Under Present-Day Conditions" adopted at the September (1989) Central Committee Plenum and which stated that the transformation of the Soviet federation presupposes "a strengthening of the sovereignty, the broadening of the rights of the autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs."

The attempt at smoothing out the contradiction between the provisions of the CPSU Platform and the draft program statement of the 28th Party Congress was made in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee where it points out that "the transformation of the Union cannot be limited to merely the expanding of the even significant rights of the republics and autonomous



formations. There must be a real Union of sovereign states (emphasis mine—L.K.).

However, again clarity is lacking in the mechanism for the practical implementation of this democratic concept. The recommendations contained in the Political Report in essence come down to measures of an administrative-command and ideological nature. At the same time, precisely on this path of a half-hearted solution to the arising interethnic conflict, the central bodies, as a rule, are "late," and bring up the tail of events. In this context, let us recall that from the very first days of the beginning of perestroika, certain republics and the scientific community came out with proposals on concluding a new treaty of union and a possible combination of federative and confederative relations, as well as eliminating the multiple subordination of the autonomous formations and on other questions. However, even their very posing caused a categorical rejection by a majority of the nation's political leadership. Only now, when the interethnic conflicts have become exacerbated to the danger of the disintegration of the federation, the draft of the Program Statement of the 28th Party Congress has set out certain positive plans in this area but again without a radical abandonment of the essence of the Stalinist "autonomization," and without a recognition of the sovereignty of the peoples in the autonomous formations.

One might ask: Just how realistic is it for the currently existing autonomous formations to claim the status of sovereign states? The answer to this question is found in international life as certainly there are sovereign states with a significantly smaller territory and population than even our autonomous okrugs.

Certainly, we have referred to the reality of international practice not in the aim of calling for the necessity of converting the Soviet autonomous formations into individual states, although we do share the opinion that at present not only the Union and autonomous republics can claim the right of a state in the Union but also an autonomous oblast or autonomous okrug (see the journal *NARODNYY DEPUTAT*, No 6, 1990, p 78).

The essence of our concept is that the transformed Soviet federation (or confederation) be constructed upon the constitutional reinforcing of the sovereignty of peoples and their national-state formations. Only under this condition is it possible to ensure actual equality and sovereignty of all the principals of federation.

Along with this, it is essential to recognize in legislation and guarantee the sovereignty of those peoples who acquire national-territorial or cultural-national formations, having granted them the right to resolve independently the questions of their socioeconomic and spiritual development.

In the broader and longer conceptual level, a radical transformation of the Soviet federation is inconceivable without the appropriate structural changes. In this context fully based in the scientific literature and in the

speeches of a number of people's deputies is the notion where in the future treaty of union and constitutionally they will establish direct incorporation in the Soviet federation of all autonomous formations on equal footing with the Union republics. Certainly, the democratic principle proposed at the dawn of the formation of the Soviet federation of the equal entry of Russia, the Ukraine and the other republics into a unified multinational state relates not only to them but to all the possible national-state formations. In other words, the main goal of unification was to create an Union of equal and sovereign peoples.

In previous publications on the given problem, we have directed attention to the fact that realizing the principle of direct entry of the autonomous formations into the Soviet federation should derive from their desire. In other words, the problem must be settled not by unification but specifically on the basis of a statement of the will of the peoples in each autonomous formation by holding a referendum. Possibly, some of them wish to maintain their current status and those which state a desire to enter directly into the federation can realize this democratic right.

Incidentally, the idea of political and legal diversity of ties in a voluntary union of peoples is contained in the Program Statement of the 28th CPSU Congress.

The constitutional reinforcing of the equality and sovereignty of all the principals of federation will bring about the removal of the different names such as "Union republic" and "autonomous formation." They all can be called republics, independently of the size of the population and territory (the Russian Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, the Belorussian Soviet Republic, the Armenian Soviet Republic, the Uzbek Soviet Republic, the Dagestan Soviet Republic, the Tatar Soviet Republic and so forth). It need not be feared that there will be not 15 such republics but more. It is important to establish the equality and sovereignty of all peoples in the multinational state.

As is known, at present in the USSR there are over 50 national-state formations. The policy and logic of the democratic transformation of the Soviet federation dictates the unconditional equalizing of their sovereign rights. Contrary to the opinion of individual conservatively thinking figures, because of this not the centrifugal but rather the centripetal trends will be strengthened.

One of the arguments by the opponents of equalizing the rights of the Union and autonomous republics and the other national state formations is the assertion that "the equality of nations does not mean their actual equality and consequently the equality of all forms of national statedom" (see, for example, the journal *SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO*, No 5, 1990, p 144). First of all, they have not spotted the difference between the concepts of "equality of rights" and "equality." Judging from the logic of the supporters of such an assertion, it is impossible to speak as well about equalizing the rights of

the Union republics, for "actual equality" also is lacking between them. Certainly, it is not realized that in accord with the democratic principal of creating an Union of sovereign states, all the national state formations should be granted equal rights, for, as was demonstrated by the lamentable experience of the past decades, without the consistent observance of this demand it is impossible to establish either a viable Union or overcome the perpetually smoldering and often erupting interethnic conflicts.

It is completely natural that the scale of rights and the limit of sovereignty of the Union and the principals of federation be determined by the relationship of the priority of their competence as set up in the new Treaty of Union, the new USSR Constitution and the republic constitutions.

We realize all the difficult of accepting the given concept, although its bases were set down at the dawn of establishing the Soviet federation.

Regardless of the indisputability that the foundation of the common home of our federation cannot be strong without ensuring the equality and sovereignty of all peoples, at present there still are numerous persons who are against freeing the autonomous formations from multiple subordination. Here often the only argument is the bugbear of "unpredictable consequences" and the danger of "resetting frontiers." Need it be proven that the voluntary, equal and sovereign entry of a national state formation into the federation has nothing in common with the "redrawing of frontiers" and cannot create an objective situation for "unpredictable consequences." Experience shows that such a situation is created subjectively by the opponents of the democratic organization of the national state system of the nation, by real nationalists and extremists who are endeavoring to preserve the dominance of their nation over others.

If instead of scientific and democratic arguments we ultimately fall under the spray of the bugbear of "unpredictable consequences" and the desire of individual Union republics to maintain their autonomous ancestral lands, then there can be no question of real democratic transformations in the Soviet federation. Only by overcoming even the slightest subordination of one people to another is it possible to establish an authentically democratic Union of republics in which the highly humane ideals of equality and sovereignty would triumph.

On this noble path it is essential first of all to fully eliminate the consequences of the dictatorial and anti-constitutional actions of Stalinism. The necessity of carrying out this task is mentioned in all the official documents of the superior state and party bodies of the nation as adopted in all the years of perestroika. But the just demands of the peoples have encountered a negative attitude from the same bodies and have often been described as an attack on the interests of "our common home." Only now, in the sixth years of perestroika, in the Accountability Report of M.S. Gorbachev at the 28th Party Congress did an official recognition appear that

precisely "perestroika and glasnost have created favorable conditions for the rebirth of national conscience." It is also recognized that the "central and local authorities at first reacted inadequately and without proper attention to these problems."

It can be said without exaggeration that such an inattentive, superficial attitude was manifested first of all toward the problem of the NKAO [Nagornyy Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]. It was expressed in the fact that the democratically and completely constitutionally commenced movement of the indigenous Armenian population in the autonomous oblast for restoring the right violated by Stalinism of self-determination and reannexation with Soviet Armenia was described by the central bodies as nationalism and extremism. After this, there followed a series of decrees and decisions in a spirit of the times of the cult of personality and stagnation. Then followed specific actions in the same spirit. As was correctly pointed out by the First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee V. Movsisyan in a speech at the 28th CPSU Congress, the conflicts in the nationality sphere "are basically being resolved by strong-arm methods: the army and the interior troops are actually paying for the shortsightedness and inability of the politicians."

Similar methods of activity by the central bodies are characteristic not only in the problem of the NKAO but also in other questions of interethnic relations awaiting a just solution.

It is time to finally overcome the Stalinist heritage and achieve not a seeming but a real transformation of the Soviet federation considering the generally recognized standards of international law which proclaim the primacy of the equality and sovereignty of peoples. As for the priority of human rights over the rights of nations, the sense of this principle is primarily in the fact that people of the nonindigenous nationality residing or staying in another national formation not be deprived of their rights because of nationality or other reasons. As a whole, it is scarcely valid to oppose human rights to the rights of nations. The right and sovereignty of the individual cannot be viewed in isolation from the right and sovereignty of his nationality, regardless of his place of residence.

We feel that the proposed concept meets these demands. To a significant degree it is sympathetic with the concept of establishing an union of sovereign states.

Its essence is that the perestroika processes in the area of the national state organization of the USSR come from below, while the forms of collaboration between the peoples and republics, on the one hand, preserve the integrity of the Union state and, on the other, fully consider the particular features of the historical, cultural and political nature and the folk traditions and would provide a possibility of establishing good relations both with the center and with one another. This concept of the nation's President on the union of sovereign states

presupposes within the context of such a formation the possibility of alternative forms for the republics to develop their ties with the central authorities, from the federative ones customary today to confederative ones (see "The Union of States: The Concept of the President," PRAVDA, 14 June 1990).

Let us reemphasize that the highest aim in preserving and strengthening our multinational Union can be achieved only with the unconditional recognition and legislative reinforcement of the sovereignty of the peoples comprising it and their national state formations.

In essence, such an approach has already been set out in the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Russian SFSR and this solemnly proclaims respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples comprising the USSR (preamble) and ensuring each people the inalienable right of self-determination within the national-state and national-cultural forms chosen by them.

It is important in practice to take steps toward a multinational parliamentary republic.

[Editorial Note] The author has requested that the fee for the article be turned over to the Fund for Refugees From Azerbaijan.

#### **NKAO Self-Defense Officials View Berdadzor**

90US1139B Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
20 Jun 90 p 1

[Interview with Andranik Artyunyan, chairman of the Okrug Self-Defense Council, and Arno Mkrtchyan, council member, by *KOMMUNIST* correspondent E. Bagiryants under rubric "Our Correspondent Dictates an Article for This Issue": "Berdadzor: A Hot Spot on the Map"]

[Text] Recently Andranik Arutyunyan, chairman of the Okrug Self-Defense Council, and Arno Mkrtchyan, council member, returned to Yerevan after two years of working in Berdadzor (Shushinskiy Rayon, NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]). *KOMMUNIST* correspondent E. Bagiryants met with them and asked them to answer a number of questions.

[Correspondent] There probably is a need to remind the readers about where Berdadzor is located.

[Reply] Berdadzor is a chain of Armenian villages in a ravine on the border between Shushinskiy and Lachinskiy rayons. At one time there were 28 such villages. During the years when the members of the Musavat [Equality] Party were in control in neighboring Azerbaijan, taking advantage of the fact that the Andranik-pasha troops were delaying in coming to the aid of the people of Karabakh, enemies for the first time in thousands of years entered the territory of the ravine with weapons in their hands. The active resistance put up by the people of Berdadzor was broken by the usurpers after much difficulty and with large losses.

At the beginning of the Soviet period, only 15 Armenian villages remained in Berdadzor, and currently there are only four—Kirov, Metsshen, Yegtsaog, and Tsakhkadzor. Because of the intolerable living conditions and the open discrimination when resolving social and everyday-cultural questions, thousands of people in Berdadzor were forced during recent decades to leave their the areas where they had lived.

The pressure on the part of the Azerbaijani leadership of Shushinskiy Rayon, and now also by the military authorities of NKAO, has been sharply intensified recently. It is clear that if, for NKAO as a whole, feverish attempts are undertaken to change the demographic situation in favor of the Azerbaijani population, with respect to Berdadzor there is just one goal—the remaining four villages must cease to exist.

The reasons for this posing of the question lie on the surface. Situated just six kilometers from Gorisskiy Rayon as the crow flies, or 17 kilometers by the **BERDADZOR** highway, is a **BRIDGE** that unites Armenia and the autonomous oblast. If it does not remain standing, the distance from Gorisskiy Rayon to the closest Armenian inhabited point in NKAO (and now the only one is Stepanakert) will be 70 whole kilometers. Thus, all the questions linked with Nagornyy Karabakh and "around it" will be removed mechanically, since the reality is such that, without Berdadzor, the autonomous oblast will prove to be in a very difficult position.

This is well known in Baku. All things considered, the situation is also understood in the center. It is only we in the republic who do not understand what the government and dozens of informal organizations are thinking. The impression is being created (and it is becoming stronger with every passing day) that we have been forgotten and cast aside. Since the election campaign was launched, and that was already several months ago, the help from Armenia has stopped.

[Correspondent] What is the situation in Berdadzor currently and what do the functions of the self-defense council include?

[Reply] The situation is a complicated one: regular searches carried out without any reason by military personnel in the homes of the peaceful population; the increasingly frequent instances of extortion and undisguised threats directed at the people of Berdadzor by the guardians of law and order; and the attacks against animal farms by Azerbaijani hit squads for the purpose of taking hostages and driving off the livestock have had a very bad effect on people's moods.

We shall not hide the fact that there are also those who propose resettling to safer places, and, essentially speaking, leaving Berdadzor. And the interrupted communication with Armenia, combined with the fact that, at any moment, the only highway from Berdadzor to Stepanakert can be closed (and, incidentally, that was actually done many times), creates fertile soil for the growth of such moods. If this continues, Berdadzor will

not be able to hold out. But the people of Berdadzor will not follow the example of Azat and Kamo, which covered themselves with shame that cannot be expunged. And they want everyone to know that.

The tasks of the self-defense council that was formed in response to the increased actions by outside forces against the indigenous population of Berdadzor include: the guaranteeing of the safety of the peasants' life and labor; the prevention of the spread of moods of panic or provocation rumors; and negotiations with people of good faith in the neighboring Azerbaijani villages and in Shusha.

But the most important thing is the rebirth of the villages. According to our computations, approximately 10,000 former residents of Berdadzor are currently living outside the confines of Berdadzor, chiefly in Armenia and the Northern Caucasus. For the most part, they are strong young men and women. At least one-third of this group of former residents of Berdadzor must return to the villages, however difficult that may be. Only in that way will there be any hope of survival.

During the period of the existence of the KOU, under the leadership of USSR People's Deputy A. Volskiy, quite a bit was done. All the villages were provided with gas. Dozens of homes were repaired or built. Currently a water main is being built. Production problems have been smoothed out in the manufacturing of new articles in the recently opened branch of the Yerevan Jewelry Plant. Fifteen young families have returned to their hometowns, and children have been born—the first generation of free residents of Berdadzor. After long years of neglect, the doors of the school in the village of Metsshenn have been reopened. All this was done with the aid of Stepanakert and Armenia. Sad to state, it is no longer being done...

We have lost the vast summer pastures that used to belong to Berdadzor on the slope of the Kirs elevation and also the Nabilyar tract that is very convenient for animal husbandry, where currently the construction of a new Azerbaijani village is in progress.

[Correspondent] But let's not lose hope. Sooner or later the fervor of political confrontation in the republic will abate and the interrupted aid will be renewed...

[Reply] We do not have any time to wait. We would like to take advantage of this opportunity to report that within the near future the "Berdadzor" union of current and former residents of Berdadzor will be created, and we shall give an additional announcement of that fact and attempt to publish the union by-laws. The unification of all the people of Berdadzor, irrespective of the place where they now live and work, is extremely necessary in order to preserve the land of our fathers and grandfathers. There is no other path.

### Armenian Scores Azerbaijani CP Actions

90US1139A Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian  
21 Jun 90 p 1

[Article by L. Melik-Shakhnazaryan, under rubric "Ironical Notes:" "No Problems?"]

[Text] The party has rescued Azerbaijan again.

The path to the bright communist future of Soviet Azerbaijan was confidently defined at the 32nd Congress of this republic's Communist Party. In order for that path not to be closed by Armenian extremists, Azerbaijan needs a regular army, and for the Soviet republics that is a problem that is difficult to resolve. But there is nothing that cannot be resolved if one undertakes the job intelligently. If we do not manage to get our own Army, then let's subordinate ourselves to the commanders of the Soviet Army. Because Major-General Safonov, commandant of the area of martial law in NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and the rayons of Azerbaijani SSR that are adjacent to it, was selected at the Azerbaijani CP Central Committee. The power-loving general now is obliged to subordinate himself to an agency in which he is simply a private, and the contingent that he commands, as one can see, will fulfill the role of "stabilizer" in the mutinous Armenian oblast.

A surprising understanding of the game called political intrigues was demonstrated by the delegates to the 32nd Azerbaijani CP Congress, by displaying exceptional resourcefulness when electing delegates from Azerbaijan to the 28th CPSU Congress.

Ye. M. Voykov, department chief of the Nagorno-Karabakh KGB, will be going to Moscow.

Those who have put on a fur hat have to remove their trouser stripes.

Ye. Voyko has some things to talk about...

In order for as many people as possible to hear what the chief of the oblast KGB has to say, L. Kravchenko, TASS general director, will go to Moscow from the capital of the USSR as the delegate from Azerbaijan. Armenians are well aware of the linguistic many-sidedness of the agency that he heads.

Let's use information to strike at reality!

People in Azerbaijan are well aware of how important the roads in the country are.

Theory without practice is dead.

The numerous blockades of Armenia, and the putting of the Goris-Stepanakert road under military lock with an Azerbaijani key, are confirmation of this.

It is precisely the understanding of the strategic importance of roads, one feels, that led to a situation in which the person sent to Moscow to the 28th CPSU Congress as

a delegate from the Azerbaijani CP is... Muscovite I. Konarev, USSR minister of railroads.

Arkhhakh will be "represented" in Moscow by V. Safonov and Ye. Voyko, who are already well known to us, and also by former Najibulla advisor, second secretary of the Azerbaijani CP Central Committee, and chairman of the Azerbaijani organizing committee in NKAO, V. Polyarnichko, and Shusha resident V. Dzhabarov.

The naive viewer of this spectacle may think that what is going on is obvious discrimination based on nationality, but the extremely wise delegates to the Azerbaijani congress have thought this question out carefully also. Who, better than V. Mikhaylov, a very responsible worker at CPSU Central Committee, can analyze these national questions?

The reader has already guessed that this Muscovite also is a delegate from the Azerbaijani CP to the 28th CPSU Congress.

Now the theory and national equality are shielded by authority, and already the question of who will be living there in that oblast is item 17.

Unusual farsightedness was revealed by the delegates to the congress from the Azerbaijani Communist Party, who conducted the first part of their congress under the slogan "We shall use the high officials to strike at the perestroyka and democracy that are alien to us!", and who left the second part until after the 28th CPSU Congress.

Awaiting the indicating finger...

The congress was interrupted on the shrillest note of stagnation: by an open vote (!), without an alternative (!!), unanimously (!!!), A. Mutalibov was re-elected as first secretary of the Azerbaijani CP Central Committee.

Members of the Azerbaijani People's Front who are devoted to democracy and pluralism at that time, as in the old anecdote, were looking for their forage cap.

But, for the time being, for the Communists of Azerbaijan, "no problems!"

### **Chairman of Belorussian People's Front Interviewed**

*90UN2467A Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH  
in Russian 6 Jul 90 pp 2-3*

[Interview with Zenon Poznyak, chairman of the Belorussian People's Front, by Yuriy Gladyshev: "Negation Is No Position"]

[Text] An interesting, if not to say delicate, situation has arisen in Belorussia after the recently held elections to the Supreme Soviet and local soviets of the republic. Among the candidates for the 360 parliamentary seats were 148 candidates supported by the Belorussian People's Front. They all reached the second round of voting and 6 became deputies, as they say, on the first try. We

feel this was not a bad result for any organization, particularly one which officially...did not exist. For the republic authorities stubbornly refused to recognize even the presence of the Front which was distasteful to them. As a result, the republic movement with a number of supporters, which according to certain data exceeded 100,000, was forced to open its payment account in a bank in the capital of a neighboring republic and use as an address the home address of one of its activists.

Naturally, under such conditions even the most elementary questions concerning the activities of the Front have assumed a cast of mysteriousness. In the aim of eliminating this cover which is currently unnecessary and prevents the natural process of dialogue, we have turned to a person who without exaggeration is very well-known and popular in the republic. Zenon Stanislavovich Poznyak, the chairman of the People's Front and co-worker at the History Institute of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences and one of the "magnificent six" of the Belorussian people's deputies who simply outplayed their rivals in the first round.

First of all, we asked Zenon Stanislavovich to fill in the "information hiatus" and acquaint the readers with the goals and tasks of the movement he heads.

[Poznyak] As a social movement, the Front has existed since the end of 1988. It has set as its basic tasks the establishing of Belorussian sovereignty, the restoration of the people's democratic traditions, national culture and the nation itself.

The Front is not so mass based, as for example, the analogous movements in Lithuania or Estonia. To a significant degree this is the consequence of the repressions, the genocide of the 1930s and 1940s. At that time, the intelligentsia was in fact destroyed, national culture was suppressed, and the mother tongue was driven out of state and social life. But this has provided us with an opportunity to come together. I feel that the basic responsibility for the situation which has arisen is born by the Communist Party which under the conditions of the republic has become an extremely conservative force carrying out a policy of national nihilism.

The Front at present is forced to exist under difficult conditions. In addition to the official nonrecognition, they have endeavored repeatedly to provoke us. Because of these reasons, we still receive our main support in the cities, primarily large ones. In the countryside, the processes of rebirth are still just beginning and with good reason in the current elections a majority of the republic leaders ran for office precisely in the countryside. But in the capital, according to our calculations, the positions of the Front are supported by over 40 percent of the voters. Only 3-7 percent prefer the bureaucrats. The remainder are still undetermined in their political views.

[Gladyshev] The unhurried course of the renewal processes in some has evoked doubt as to the possibility of achieving the set goals....

[Poznyak] Our goals, in my view, are completely attainable, proceeding from the place and the degree of participation by Belorussia in the global processes of positive change. Certainly the republic cannot be viewed in isolation from them. This is an unrealistic approach and we are not on a desert island.

However, in returning to what has been said, I am forced to repeat that progressive changes are being held up by the conservatism of the republic Communist Party. In Lithuania the party has taken the side of a majority of the people and in this manner has brought the political situation to a qualitatively different level. But in our republic there are no democratic movements in the official structures. The upper levels are conservative. In the lower ones dissatisfaction is more and more noticeable. For the party such a splitting of society does not entail anything good. But for now the proper conclusions are not being drawn.

At the same time, perestroika has brought forward many vivid leaders who are members (or were members) of the Communist Party. Suffice it to recall, as this region has already been mentioned here, the popular leaders of the Baltic republics, the Moscow and, for instance, Leningrad public figures. For example, Yu. Afanasyev and A. Brazuaskas....

Alas, there are no persons of such a level in Belorussia. Let me emphasize, not a single one. The presence of even several strong leaders would substantially change the situation. In continuing what has already been said, I can repeat that conflict is not advantageous for society. The current situation is unstable and threatens the existing official authorities with collapse.

[Gladyshev] The active involvement of the Belorussian People's Front in the election campaign has shown that you are not so categorical in terms of the parliamentary structures. Do you hope for the real democratization of society through the reformist activities of the renewed Supreme Soviet?

[Poznyak] We have been able in a third of the districts to put up candidates from the democratic forces. Had they won, a rather strong faction in parliament would have been formed. But we encountered fierce resistance from the bureaucracy. The stance and articles in *VECHERNIY MINSK* have gained a lamentable renown. But this is merely the tip of the iceberg. The "submerged part" was an avalanche of leaflets, posters and various "anonymous letters." To my mind, a normal person would scarcely ever take it into his head to write what we found. But much was written including that the leaders of the front were declared to be murderers, bandits and extremists. I simultaneously was a Zionist, an antisemite and a fascist. Here I would like to emphasize that I grew up as an orphan as my grandfather had been repressed and my father was killed in the war. But the leaflets handed around stubbornly classified my grandfather who was executed in 1939 as a "henchman of the fascists." It must be said that this at times worked

on people who had never seen Poznyak. But I was more fortunate as I ran in a district located in a worker area. And the workers always have good common sense. With good reason, incidentally, all our worker candidates, in clearly feeling the danger, were "cut out" in the registration stage. But I made it. In other places the situation developed differently. It happened that we retreated, we lost votes and were not able everywhere to organize supervision over the voting.

I would like to share the following observation. In my view, in exacerbating the election campaign, a major role was played by the increase in the wages paid to bureaucrats. This in no way was an error, as some feel, but was completely thought out, if not a planned step. The nomenclatura realized that it had something to lose. And it stood to the death. In the previous elections, in any event, there was not such resistance.

I cannot help but note a fact which also influenced the results of the elections and this was that the Front did not engage in counterpropaganda. There can be rivalry against rivalry, but nobility and a feeling of our own dignity were higher than a formal victory. This was our fundamental position.

[Editorial Comment] ...A necessary digression. On the question of nobility. Here probably we should acquaint the reader with the story published in the newspaper *VECHERNIY MINSK* and mentioned by Zenon Stanislavovich. A correspondent, Tatyana Bumazhkova in an article entitled "The Leaders of a Behind-the-Scenes Chorus" informed the people of Minsk about the visit to the republic capital by a leader of the Belorussian emigre movement, A. Nadson, who had organized help to the victims of Chernobyl. I will not dispute my colleague over the question of her views of the career and facts in the life of the guest, although many of them seemed to me far from convincing. I would rather take up the style of the article. The article's author not without a sense of irony stated that the "English" tourist was met by a group of representatives of the so-called "people's" front. "With excited shouts, touching comments and the waving of police and red-and-white flags....Nadson was escorted to the motorcade...."

In describing the visit of the guests to the Museum of Ancient Belorussian Art, the Minsk correspondent perceptively pointed out that in the above-mentioned museum, with the knowledge and not without the help of its organizer, Yu. Khodyko, a candidate people's deputy of Belorussia, the "inventory books...are being recopied (!!!) and that with the existence of a gift fund from which anyone who makes the effort can obtain things, there was no accounting book...." (Incidentally, the museum does not have a "gift fund.") Moreover, at this same institute at the traditional Bogushevich Lectures, the organizers were so bold as to seat A. Nadson on the presidium, and next to him were two communist directors who "judging from everything, their party card...was not burning a hole in their pocket." The latter particularly disappointed the

correspondent, since "in terms of Z. Poznyak, the continuer of the ideas of Ya. Poznyak who praised Hitler, everything is clear." Let me recall that it was a question of a person who perished in the years of the Stalinist repressions.

The story ended on a funny note. In describing the visit of the "prominent workers of the Academy of Sciences" V. Gurkov, L. Solovey and the same Yu. Khodyko to church, the correspondent could not restrain herself from commenting on the fact that the scientists "crossed themselves, in truth, some to the right and some to the left, but earnestly touched their foreheads to the floor."

The article appeared in the evening newspaper on 16 March. Before dinner, just before going to bed, the people of Minsk with some surprise became acquainted with the doings of the god-fearing but dirty-handed physicist Yu. Khodyko. At midnight, as is known, the official campaign ended. And several hours later the doors of the voting precincts opened.

The blow was launched accurately and by plan. And mercilessly.

[Gladysz] All the same, the People's Front does have 60 seats—for now—in the Belorussian Supreme Soviet. What primary tasks have your representatives set for themselves in the superior legislative body of the republic?

[Poznyak] As we have already said, it so happened that the Supreme Soviet will begin its work with an incomplete membership. And the deputies from the democratic movement will comprise a little more than 1/6 of it. For this reason, I feel that the process of democratization merely in parliamentary forms will be difficult. I can assume a path of the people's assembly with appeals directly to the voters on the streets and squares and at their place of residence. Why precisely on the street? The problem is that due to its small size, our parliamentary grouping can scarcely carry out its decisions. We will merely be able to block the most conservative draft laws. But as you can understand, this is not a creative path. For this reason, there must be a dialogue with the people and specific work with them.

[Gladysz] Judging from everything, you will appear rather often on the rostrum of the republic Supreme Soviet. Are you ready for the negative response from the deputies who do not share your views?

[Poznyak] I am always ready for such a response. Incidentally, the opponents generally, it seems to me, are not able to control themselves and they often lack elementary political and general culture. The arguments of the opposing side are not increased by a denial or a reticence to hear out the deputy. And wagering merely on a position is risky even for the majority.

[Gladysz] What will you say in your first speech?

[Poznyak] I will deal with the political situation in the republic. As well as the tasks confronting the Supreme

Soviet. We must immediately define the strategic paths and those tasks which must be settled first. Otherwise, there is too great a danger that we will be "overwhelmed" by a discussion of nonessential questions. Or to put it specifically, the main question is one of power. Then comes Chernobyl, the laws on land, ownership, the press and information. The latter is acutely essential, particularly in our republic.

Incidentally, if I do not speak about this, then one of the deputies of the democratic bloc must.

[Editorial Comment] ...A necessary digression. Soon after the run-off, the name of Z. Poznyak again appeared on the pages of the newspapers. And this time not just in VECHERNIY MINSK, but seemingly all of them at once. The question was being discussed of the possible celebrating of the 62d anniversary of the founding of the Belorussian People's Republic, an independent national state. Again, I will not dispute the truth or falseness of this assertion. The official commission of the republic Academy of Sciences in any event insisted on the latter. Again, however, one is struck by the tone in which, I repeat, all the mass information media in the republic announced this decision. Having pointed out that the date of 25 March 1918 cannot be viewed as the day of national independence and having refused the applicants—Z. Poznyak, Yu. Khodyko and A. Marochkin—permission to use the squares and streets, the capital gorispolkom in its decision threateningly warned the designated citizens of their "personal responsibility in the event of the failure to observe the current legislation."

These articles attracted attention due to the statements by Z. Poznyak on the combining of parliamentary methods of struggle with nonparliamentary ones. In defending a strict, unconditional observance of even a still incomplete piece of legislation, one cannot help but admit that by such procedures which border on threats the authorities themselves are pushing their political rivals off the parliamentary rostrum into the midst of the demonstrating people. And this means again not discussion but rather confrontation.

And again, having read the decision of the executive committee, one of the leaders of the People's Front commented bitterly: "How long has it been since they threw our scientists into jail?"

Can it really be again?...

[Gladysz] Let us try to look to the future. How do you see your country, republic, your movement and yourself and, finally, let us say, in some 10 years at the end of the millennium?

[Poznyak] By nature, I am an optimist. And I should say that I find sufficient grounds for optimism. In 10 years I see Belorussia a free, dependent state, maintaining close friendly ties primarily with the Baltic countries and the Ukraine. Why precisely with them? With the current economic level, we simply cannot integrate immediately into the European economic system. For this reason, as



a transitional stage there must be ties with our neighbors, including, possibly, on a confederation basis.

Undoubtedly, Belorussia should become a democratic state with all, and here absolutely equal forms of ownership. Ecology must be raised to the rank of state policy.

In terms of myself, I do not have any far-reaching plans. I am an art historian and I have been forced to participate in politics, due to circumstances. I feel that in our fateful times, writing poetry cannot in any effective way help our rebirth. A painting, not even the most beautiful, determines the fate of people. If a house is on fire, it is immoral to play your violin, rather you must put out the fire. In speaking honestly, I am not fond of politics and in 10 years I could see myself working in my main specialty. But clearly, we must now temporize with history, archeology and art. The time is too short. And generally little time remains.

[Gladyshev] In the place of a conclusion. In actuality, insignificantly little time remains and here Zenon Stanislavovich is absolutely correct. It is possible not to agree with the viewpoint voiced by him and it is possible to doubt individual views and judgments but we feel that the concern and pain for the fate of his people are worthy of respect. As for the extremeness of judgment...here let us recall just a fragment of our conversation about the reticence to listen to the opinion of an opponent which does not add anything to an argument. This was said sincerely. It seems that, as a minimum, one side firmly defends such a position. The other sides should more quickly recognize the obviousness of this fact. There would be no need for the street. We would go out on them only on holiday.

May this be soon....

#### **Ethnic Tensions in Tuva Continue to Rise.**

90UN2513A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA  
in Russian No 30, 28 Jul 90 p 2

[Correspondent report: "Outrages Committed in Tuva..."]

[Text] Krasnoyarskiy Kray. The first outburst of anti-Russian nationalistic demonstrations in Tuva took place in May in the mining town of Khovu-Aksy. It was accompanied by pogroms and setting of fires. Since that time the tension has been constantly on the increase.

The situation was largely determined by the high unemployment rate among young people of the indigenous nationality, and by the presence of a large amount of firearms, officially authorized for shepherds. Widespread availability of narcotics substances derived from the locally-grown hemp, also played its role. Armed mounted detachments of young men stoned on hashish come out at night in the republic's towns and settlements, and commit outrages.

Scientific and cultural figures have become the ideologues in the struggle for Tuva independence. The idea

for a Tuva People's Front was born among the associates of the Tuva Scientific Research Institute on Language, Literature and History. Last summer, when the People's Front was created, they guaranteed that they would not permit any excesses. But the situation very quickly went out of control.

Groups of young men commit outrages not only in populated places, but also on the roads, primarily along the Abakan-Kyzyl highway, along which food, fuel and manufactured goods are shipped into the republic.

Settlers are being received hospitably and sympathetically in Yermakovskiy Rayon and others. But all the unoccupied apartments in nearby kolkhozes and sovkhoses are already occupied, and the homes for sale in the rayon center itself have been bought up. Yet refugees continue to arrive. In mid-July in Krasnoyarskiy Kray alone there were already more than 700 families.

#### **Estonian People's Front Meeting Held**

90UN2513B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 20 Jul 90 p 4

[ETA Report by S. Valner: "New People's Front Representative Council Begins Work"]

[Text] On 14 July the new Council of Representatives [Soviet upolnomochennykh] of the Estonian People's Front, elected at the People's Front Congress in May, held its first meeting. The meeting took place in Rakvere. The new membership of the Representative Council consisted of fewer representatives of the "capital"; more than half its members were delegated directly from the regional organizations of the People's Front.

Ignar Fyuk, who chaired the meeting, handed the members of the authorized council their mandates, and delivered a report on the subject of "The People's Front as an Organization." No decisions were adopted on the report.

The second point on the agenda was—exchange of opinions on the elections to the State Duma when Estonia gains its independence. Mati Khedemets delivered a report, and Arvo Yunti a co-report. It was decided to hold a discussion within the organization on this topic.

Maryu Lauristin described the activities of the People's Front deputies in the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium. In spite of the fact that a significant portion of the members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium side with the NF [People's Front], their will is frequently not considered, since the apparatus of the Presidium is much more influential. Joint activity of the People's Front deputies and the government are not sufficiently coordinated.



**Estonian People's Front on Talks with USSR, RSFSR***90UN2513C Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Jul 90 p 4*

[ETA report: "Resolution of the Popular Front Representative Council"]

[Text] Rakvere, 14 July (ETA). RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman B. Yeltsin and RSFSR Council of Ministers Chairman I. Silayev sent a telegram to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Estonian Republic, in which they propose drafting and concluding a treaty between the two republics. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and Chairman of the Government of the Estonian Republic sent a telegram in reply.

According to information available to ETA, preparation for talks will be coordinated by the Commission on the Economy of the Supreme Soviet and the Minister of the Economy of the Estonian Republic.

The Estonian People's Front believes that holding talks with the USSR or the RSFSR only on economic questions, while considering the restoration of our independence, is a compromise decision.

The Estonian People's Front believes it necessary to prepare for talks with the USSR and the RSFSR on both political and economic questions: preparations for talks with the RSFSR and USSR should be included on the agenda of the extraordinary session of the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet of 6 August 1990; the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet should work out a strategy for all upcoming talks.

**Causes, Concerns of Osh Disorder Discussed***90US1133A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 21, 22 Jun 90 p 3*

[Article by R. Safarov, R. Rakhmanov and O. Filimonov from Andizhan—Uzgen—Tashkent: "Andizhan—Osh: For a Return of Peace and Tranquility"]

[21 Jun 90, p 3]

**[Text] I. A Special Region**

The indication of disaster was not in the traces of fires and fights. As terrible as these might be, they are noticed only later. The sign of the disaster is in the eyes and souls of the people. Those who were caught up in the misfortune look different. They feel, think and look at others around them differently. They have a different way of holding their head, a different walk.

Without yet recovering from one disaster and eliminating the consequences of the recent pogroms, the people of Andizhan felt the burdens of a new one. Here there is a painful echo of the disorders in Osh Oblast of Kirghizia.

A body wound is a painful and terrible thing. But in time using a range of medicines, it can be localized, made painless and cured.

A wound to society is not merely dangerous but is inadmissible. It grows too quickly and survives for a tortuously long time. Man exists in the close nexus of social bonds. Kinship, sympathies, convictions, amusements, work—how many things unite us. But if a conflict breaks out somewhere then the ties formed over the centuries lose their positive function and become the channels of pain, despair and hate. The wound grows broader no matter what one tries.

Until recently the Uzbekistan part of the Fergana Valley and Osh Oblast were only separated in administrative terms. In actuality, there was virtually no difference. If you crossed the stream over a bridge you were in the neighboring republic. But there was the same sky overhead, the same land under foot and the same people around you. The way of life, the economy and leisure—everywhere were the traits of unforced community. Since antiquity the Andizhan shepherds had pastured their flocks in the distant pastures in the mountainous regions of Osh Oblast, in the Sovetskiy and Alayskiy Ranges. The beekeepers brought their hives for the summer. There was recreation in the mountains and trips to visit one another!...

And suddenly it turns out that a blow dealt in one place causes pain in the most diverse places. The disorders in Kirghizia—in the city of Osh, Uzgenskiy, Alayskiy, Karasuyskiy and Aravanskiy Rayons—reverberated in Andizhan Oblast, in a number of places of Namangan and Fergana Oblasts. Concern for the fate of relatives and close friends and the bitterness of the losses led to increased instability and tension. The situation rapidly assumed an explosive nature.

By an Ukase of the Uzbek President I.A. Marimov, on the territories of Dzhalkudukskiy, Kurgantepinskiy, Markhamatskiy, Pakhtaabadskiy and Khodzhaabadskiy Rayons and the city of Andizhan, a state of emergency was declared. The Commandant of the special region of Andizhan Oblast, Maj Gen Mil G.R. Rakhimov, appealed to the inhabitants to show reasonableness, calmness and discipline and not give way to the provocative appeals and not permit violations of public order. The adopted measures produced a definite result.

The statistics are as follows: on the territory of Kirghizia there were over 180 persons killed and over 1,200 wounded. But even these figures are not final. Talks with eyewitnesses of the events convince one that there were more victims. Many are missing. And how many shepherds and beekeepers were overtaken by the calamity alone in the mountains? When will they be able to establish the fate of each of them?

In acquainting us with a summary, the Uzbek First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs V.G. Gusev emphasized that the workers of the law enforcement bodies were carrying out an extensive statistical count of the

victims by nationality, age, sex and information about relatives. This undoubtedly will aid in the investigation. This will also help in the explanatory work with the oblast's public as it will be impossible to restrain the disturbances if the people are not told the entire truth about what happened. And this includes about the victims of crimes.

In the words of V.G. Gusev, cooperation between the Uzbek and Kirghiz ministries of internal affairs under the existing circumstances is just being set up. But the lightning has already struck!

Of course, in an emergency situation it was difficult to achieve clear and coordinated work of all the services and elements. But the problem is that the difficulties related to the mass disorders, let us say it directly, were new to us. But the missed opportunities, oversights and misunderstandings were the old ones which put our teeth on edge. The lack of an exchange of information between the departments (as in the instance described by V.G. Gusev) was an old tune. The leader with the telephone receiver which has become part of his ear and who is also forced to waste time in dispatcher problems is, alas, also an old saw. The secretary of the party obkom who is up to his neck in crucial matters drops everything and calls number after number as he needs a guide to direct him in seeking out the missing. A helicopter with troops summoned from Osh for this purpose stands idle at the airport. Time is lost, the guide is not found and the troops fly off to Osh to eat.... We were the witnesses of other similar snafus as well.

All the same—and we cannot help but admit this—the immeasurably hard work, the work to the point of exhaustion, does bring results in the special region.

The civil aviation pilots work steadily and steadfastly. Food and medicines are delivered by air into Kirghizia for the victims as well as vital necessities. The military helicopter pilots provide great aid in transport.

The people do not conceal their gratitude for the soldiers who have provided order and security in the border rayons of both republics. And certainly attacks on the army have recently become almost a feature of "good style." At present, in the disaster, a man in uniform is as close as a brother to each of us. From various mouths we heard such admissions that it is a good thing that my son is leaving for the army as it is safer there.

Great responsibility rested on the law enforcement bodies. Nevertheless, there was no confusion. Undoubtedly, it was their great achievement that the disorders did not cross into the territory of Uzbekistan and that the disturbances caused by the alarming news did not go across the critical line.

We would also like to say a good word about the party and soviet workers of Andizhan Oblast and about the representatives of the Uzbek CP Central Committee and the Uzbekistan government who arrived here during those very first terrible days. About those whom we now

call apparatchiks without flinching and criticize with envious zeal which has reached the point of being automatic. But certainly it was the apparatchiks who resisted the angry crowds which rushed into Osh. They appealed to the people not to commit retaliatory crimes, to check the wave of bloodshed, not to surrender to emotion and not to trust the troublemakers.

They tried to take hostages of them and some did not avoid roughing up.

But they did not flinch. Their appeals and arguments got the best of the irrationality and explosive intrigues.

The party workers established contact with the clergy and with different social movements for organizing joint explanatory work. The aim was to provide safety for the Kirghiz, both those living in the border regions of the adjacent republic as well as on Uzbek land. On the territory of Andizhan Oblast alone, there are 70,000 of them. And no one was seriously injured.

As a whole, the situation remained under control. Although, of course, it was very, very complex.

On 11 June at a session of the buro of the party obkom and on 12 June at a joint session of the Uzbek and Kirghiz republic government commissions, attempts were made to analyze the reasons for the arising clash and disorders. It is too early to draw final conclusions, however it is clear now that a major disaster occurred which, incidentally, cannot be viewed as the hostility of the two peoples or the two republics. It is not the peoples who are to blame. Criminal forces are to blame as they planned and carried out the vile action and endeavored to make political capital from the people's grief. What, in the opinion of the organizers of the disorders, should appear as a conflict between the Kirghiz and Uzbeks was in fact a conflict of good and evil, law and crime.

What divides the Uzbek and the Kirghiz? Land? State territory? Ethnic priority according to the principle of who is a native and who a newcomer? Rubbish. But it turns out that even such rubbish under certain circumstances is dangerous. Just one phrase in the issue of *IZVESTIYA* of 7 July which determined the Kirghiz as the indigenous nationality in Osh Oblast and the Uzbeks, evidently, as foreigners—just this phrase alone could influence the situation like a can of gasoline on a bonfire.... It is essential to show particular carefulness, caution and respect in taking up such questions which in one way or another touch on national interests. Unfortunately, many mass information media, both central and local, having obtained significant rights, have their foot to the floor on the glasnost pedal, forgetting that the force of the printed word, a word said over the airwaves can serve not only for creation but also destruction....

The Uzbeks who have lived since time immemorial on the territory of Osh Oblast are the indigenous population of Kirghizia just as the Kirghiz living in our republic are also our indigenous compatriots. Many investigations in

this imaginary question are an injustice and provocation. This is particularly true of forced investigations.

And certainly an equal injustice is a national vendetta.

These are the main arguments with which the republic and oblast leadership is turning to the people these days.

And life itself confirms the justice of these arguments. Regardless of the fact that in the special region they have organized security for places where Kirghiz dwell compactly, some of them have left their homes in fear of the possibility of reprisal. In the settlement of Khidirsha in Khodzhaabadskiy Rayon, the local Kirghiz had taken shelter on the territory of the Munduz water intake. Their Uzbek neighbors persuaded them to return home guaranteeing their security. Around 600 persons left the Kommunist Kolkhoz in Dzhalkudskiy Rayon, seeking to take shelter on the territory of Osh Oblast. Persuaded by the peaceable arguments, they also soon returned home.

The arriving refugees who had come under attack, humiliation or mockery described what they had experienced with fear in their voice and tears in their eyes. But even they, without losing their feeling of justice, emphasized what indignation was shown against the bandit attacks by the simple Kirghiz workers and how sincere were their sympathy and attempts at help.

We have seen a peaceful dialogue be established and developed. A telegram was received from Sovetskii Rayon on the opening up of a route to resume the movements of livestock from Andizhan Oblast into Osh Oblast. Security was guaranteed for the people of Andizhan both on the road and in the distant pastures.

On the boundary of Pakhtabadskiy and Bazarkurganskii Rayons, Kirghiz from the Seydikumskiy Sovkhoz met with Uzbeks from the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin and the Moskva Kolkhoz. The meeting and the calm, productive conversation ended with a comradely dinner. A meeting was also organized for the representatives of the border Kurgantepinskii and Kurasuyskiy Rayons.

Many of those who abandoned their homes or their pastures now again wish to leave for Kirghizia. Certainly each of them should have a guarantee of safety.

The longing for peace, for reasonable order and labor will win out. Regardless of the arising disturbances and the tension, the kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers in Andizhan Oblast have achieved good results. The product delivered by the silk growers exceeded the plan indicator by 700 tons. Cotton has bloomed in a number of rayons.

It would be a good thing to finally forget the sudden bitterness and completely dedicate oneself to daily concerns.

But how can one escape from the persistent question which sits in your head like a splinter: "How could such a thing happen?"

The task of the law enforcement bodies is to investigate the causes and consequences of the committed crimes and determine the guilty parties and the scale of the events.

However, even now it is understood that these events were carefully prepared and that the wager was on a two-sided outrage, if you like, a civil war between the republics. Some started with pogroms and others responded with a "crusade" against the pogromers and on it went.

To the honor of the people of Andizhan, there was no crusade. But the degree of organization demonstrated by its initiators speaks for itself. Here are just several examples. A crowd assembled inflamed by appeals for vengeance. There was an intense dialogue with the authorities and the police. In the meanwhile, the petty thieves and rabble picked the pockets of the demonstrators.

In Andizhan an inflamed crowd assembled in the center of the city. Forces for maintaining public order were drawn up here. And the criminals, being up on things as no one else, without any hindrance committed violations in other areas of the city.

Well, in the criminal world information spreads with enviable speed. But, consequently, there is also a brain center giving rise to the information.

A similar handwriting and thorough preparation could also be felt in what happened in Kirghizia. We base such a conclusion not only on the stories of the victims but also on what we were able to see with our own eyes.

Would it have been possible to prevent the senselessness? We asked this question of many with whom we spoke on the Andizhan and Osh land. The answer almost always coincided with our opinion that it would have been possible.

And not only possible, but it should have been prevented. As is known, the "bone of contention" in Osh history is the dispute over a field on the outskirts of the oblast center belonging to the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin. Here the interests of the Uzbek kolkhoz members and the Kirghiz city dwellers clashed (the latter were demanding that the field be turned over to them for individual housing construction). There is the opinion that the overheated passions served as a spark which ignited the conflagration of crimes which spread through the oblast. We are not inclined to view this story as among the real reasons of the Osh conflict. Rather this is one of the pretexts. But whatever the case, the "spark" had smoldered too long before the powder fuze was put to it. There had been a time to investigate the situation, to trace the sources of the clash, to estimate the inevitable consequences and take measures.

The bandit raids and pogroms began no earlier than 4-5 June. At the same time, the Osh Oblast newspaper LENINSKIY PUT in the issue of 31 May in an article

entitled "Field of Discord" described a scandalous meeting of the city dwellers and kolkhoz members which happened on 27 May. Let us point out that 10 days elapsed between this date and the start of the mass disorders!

The unauthorized seizure of the kolkhoz field by the city dwellers, as was pointed out in the article, "naturally alarmed the leaders of the oblast, Osh and Karasuyskiy Rayon.... The people were loaded into buses and shown lands which could be used without obstacle for building housing. They did not like it. The people returned to the former place and stated that they would build here.

"At an urgently convened session of the buro of the party obkom, agreement was given.

"At the same time, in the Uzbek district adjacent to the field, dissatisfaction was growing.... Until recently, Uzbeks had been living here and then they had been moved to the East Microrayon with the nearby cemetery which keeps the bones of the grandfathers and fathers....

"Most alarming was that the stakes with which the demonstrators planned to mark their plots were replaced by staves and in the hands of the young men there appeared metal bars, clubs and rubber hoses....

In a word, there were the obvious and depressing indications of the approaching storm. There had to be strong hypnosis with complacency in order not to notice these. Even the newspaper which had sounded the alarm submitted to the hypnosis. The material in the "Field of Discord" ended with a happy ending: "...The excitement dissipated, the crowds dispersed and the city and oblast leadership assured the protestors that the question would soon be resolved."

We now know that neither in the near future nor later on did anything good happen.

We say this not so much for the sake of rebuke as to warn that we must not repeat the mistake. At present, information is being received on a stabilizing situation in the border rayons of Kirghizia and Uzbekistan. Thank goodness! But it seems to us that it is a long way off to a real normalization. Fear has not left the people. Attempts can be noted by instigators to destabilize the situation.

[22 Jun 90, p 3]

[Text] II. Let Reason Triumph

In order to visit the sites of the bloody events, at Andizhan Airport we came to terms with the crew of a helicopter leaving for Uzgen with flour for the victims and were accepted on board as loaders.

We loaded a dozen sacks with flour. The helicopter lifted off into the sky. Turning and twisting below us was the dish of the Fergana Valley divided into strips of fields. In came the stages of the foothills.

We listened to the story of the helicopter personnel. This was the 8th day they had been flying back and forth between Andizhan and the settlements of Osh Oblast where the disaster had befallen their compatriots. Generally speaking, not much time had passed but the count of days had been lost. They had grown accustomed to everything, to the stress and to the feverish work. They only could not become accustomed to what they saw. Destroyed houses. Dead buildings and people. The suffering on the faces of the living. The helicopter personnel described the additional trials of hunger and thirst which had been the plight of the homeless people of Uzgen until supply could be organized from Uzbekistan. The helicopter circled over Uzgen. The city looked like the crown of a tree destroyed by hail. Like tears in the leaves, the burned out and destroyed districts and blocks stood out. There was the empty rectangle of the bazaar square. The virtually complete absence of motor vehicles on the roads, except for armored personnel carriers. The rare pedestrians with a slow, sleep-like walk.

The town was still in shock.

We landed on the green field of the stadium. The flour was quickly unloaded. The pilot did not shut down the engine as they had a strict command of not delaying. There had been instances of pogromers attacking the helicopters....

It seemed that there were still a few minutes to take a look around, to exchange a few sentences with the inhabitants who had come to the helicopter for flour and even more to ease their soul in talking with new people, to describe what had befallen them and hear words of sympathy.

Standing in front of us were elders and youths, and their monologues came one after the other. One man had his two brothers murdered before his very eyes and a third was missing. An old man had fought the entire war to Berlin but had never seen such cruelty. Stories about how the pogromers looked who had come in from the surrounding mountains in vehicles and on horseback and for almost 2 days terrorized the town. Largely these were young persons 25-30 years of age with red kerchiefs on their heads. Their weapons included pikes, axes with long handles, weapons, rifles and assault rifles. The bandits did not spare either the men discovered empty-handed or the women and children.

It was hard to break off the conversations. It was hard to divert your glance from the pain-filled eyes. But there was nothing to be done. The helicopter blade was whistling in the air. The crew was waiting cross-armed: it was time.

We were back in the air. We were now accompanied by a young woman with a year-old daughter in her arms, Lena Sh. Here is her story briefly. She came from Uzgen. She now lives with her husband and daughter in Kalinin. She had gone to visit her mother. On 9 June, she had a ticket for Moscow where she was to meet her husband. The departure was from the Osh Airport. The disorders

broke out and it was impossible to leave from Uzgen. Moreover, for 2 days they could not leave the house. The airplane ticket was out of date. Lena was flying to Andizhan to make her way from there to Moscow. Generally, Lena had been lucky. The raiders had somehow bypassed their area. None of her close friends had suffered, the child dreaming in her arms was healthy and far off were her home, her husband was waiting (and of course, crazy with excitement).

Like many other witnesses, Lena informed us that in addition to the Uzbeks, Russians and persons of other nationalities had also been victims of the bandits. She told how the old Kirghiz sheltered persons being persecuted, cursing the out-of-control butchers.

At the airport, having said farewell to Lena, and for whom the police workers began to take care of her further departure, we met another person who had recently arrived from Uzgen. K.A., a director of a bee sovkhos, together with his son and bride, was at an apiary in the mountains. They also experienced an attack, they fled and for 5 days hid somewhere in the steep slopes. When they descended to Uzgen, the military had already provided order here.

Stories, stories, stories.... Each was unique. However, they had much that was in common. Independently of one another they all pointed out that the actions of the bandit had an organized nature. The weapons, the distinguishing kerchiefs and transport—all of this pointed to major organization.

And we ourselves saw in flying over Uzgen in the helicopter that the decrepit houses were still standing. The destroyed houses were the larger, sounder and richer ones. There were destroyed stores and warehouses.

Was this only a national clash? A double-dyed criminal act and medieval vandalism. Theft in the dark of night. And in broad daylight.

It did not surprise us, this obvious criminal design. We were immeasurably amazed by the cruelty.

The USSR First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs I.F. Shilov shared his assumptions on this question with us as he had been present during these days in Andizhan Oblast:

"Practice shows that individual crimes in their character are less cruel than collective ones. Clearly, some sort of herd instinct goes to work. Each tries to attack the undefended. A chain reaction of cruelty."

And so it was! Even this unchanged psychological factor was carefully employed by the organizers of the criminal actions.

We do not have the right to intervene into the internal affairs of the neighboring Union republic and to point out to its government what should be done in the existing situation. We merely repeat the words said by the Kirghiz leaders: what happened was a consequence of

not only economic, social and personnel problems but also a concealed and well-organized criminal action.

The criminals should receive their due. Since the time of Sumgait we have been hearing the same words: dark forces and extremist groupings. But when, finally, will these forces and groupings which merit the hate of the entire nation assume names and addresses? When will we see them on the bench of the defendants? Up to the present, they have remained unpunished and they are adding to the list of bloody deeds: Sumgait, Karabakh, Kishinev, Baku, Fergana, Dushanbe, Osh.... What region is next?

"Is there any guarantee that this time the main criminals will escape justice?" we asked I.F. Shilov.

Ivan Fedorovich [Shilov] described the work being done by the investigatory group of the USSR Procuracy and MVD and concerned with the crimes committed in Osh Oblast. Incidentally, it includes representatives of the law enforcement bodies of Uzbekistan and Kirghizia. The task has been set as quickly as possible of concluding the investigation on a series of perpetrators of criminal actions and holding open court trials. Let the people see that the bandits have not escaped from the law.

"As for the organizers, they unconditionally should be apprehended and also punished," emphasized I.F. Shilov. "But here very much depends upon the awareness and help of the public."

The deputy minister certainly is right as without help from the public it is hard to count on a result. But clearly we should not absolutize this question. Each has his own role to play: the law enforcement bodies should provide the people with a tranquil life and the people should live this life.

Let us repeat, the criminals should bear their merited punishment. This is important if only to recover the caused material harm from them.

At a joint session of the governmental commissions of both republics, the Chairman of the Kirghiz Council of Ministers A.D. Dzhumagulov assured those present that the victims would recover their losses and the unusable destroyed houses will be either repaired or rebuilt.

A just decision. But the funds for this will be taken from the republic budget. Hence, again the honest worker must pay.

What the pogromers perpetrated was not merely plunder. It was aggravated robbery. If, of course, the bandits escaped responsibility.

They should be punished for the sake of justice. For the sake of our tranquility. As long as the perpetrators are at liberty we have no defense against new disorders which can spread throughout the nation like explosions in artillery shelling.

...A person is free to choose and designate the vital circumstances essential for him. His personal fate to a significant degree obeys his commands.

But it is difficult to choose one's neighbors and in some instances impossible. Here fate itself disposes. The task is to learn to live with one's neighbor in peace.

And what about entire peoples! History itself establishes the neighborliness of them. To repudiate history is not merely a useless undertaking but also a terribly harmful one. This inhumane undertaking involves the violent redrawing of the geography of human relations and neighborhoods.

The Uzbek and Kirghiz peoples over the centuries have lived in close neighborliness. To draw a solid frontier between them is like separating living tissue that has grown together. It is like preparing pilaf, putting the rice, meat, onions, carrots and water in different pots.

For centuries the Uzbeks and Kirghiz have lived in peace and concord. In order that this good tradition not be broken, it is essential, having lived through the difficult testing, to suppress the anger, eliminate the heat and be guided by reason.

The state and law enforcement bodies of Kirghizia and Uzbekistan, as well as the center, are taking every measure envisaged by the law to put an end to the outrages and to the inflammatory rumors and appeals. They are endeavoring to return peace and security to the Kirghiz and Uzbek land, and provide the people with an opportunity to work normally and live calmly. Now it is essential to have national concord, close collaboration and mutual aid.

Certainly, peace cannot be established in the victimized lands and in the suffering souls if there remains even the slightest shadow of disagreement between people. And primarily as to the causes of what happened.

How could such a thing happen? Is the question constantly heard in meetings and talks on Andizhan and Osh land. This does not give us any peace of mind now. For this reason, we have decided to analyze the different stories which have arisen around the events and to try to formulate our own....

There are many of them, these stories.

We have already mentioned one of them. The opposition of the inflamed crowds in the kolkhoz field near the outskirts of Osh, the spears and pikes in place of pegs and shovels in the hands of the "builders"—oh, how this is reminiscent of a rehearsal of coming misfortunes. All the same, the field of discord, in our view, is not the cause but rather one of the pretexts for the misfortune which happened. The roots lie deeper.

In our file there are also other versions.

The Uzbek First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs V.G. Gusev in a conversation with us voiced the following view:

"Clearly, in the neighboring republic, definite mistakes were made in cadre policy. Often one hears that hundreds of thousands of Uzbeks are living on the territory of Kirghizia. There are particularly many of them in the rayons bordering on Uzbekistan. At the same time, among the leadership of the oblasts, rayons and farms, you virtually find no Uzbeks. Clearly, there is a violation of social justice in the recruitment and placement of personnel. This certainly could lead to dissatisfaction, tension and confrontation."

Something similar was heard in a discussion with the inhabitants of Osh Oblast among the Uzbeks:

"Even details provide insults. All around the settlements there are inscriptions on the roads and institutions which are basically in Kirghiz. Nowhere do you find an inscription in Uzbek...."

Clearly, the notion that a more just approach must be taken to such questions actually hangs in the air, having various overtones in one or another place and even, incidentally, on the territory of our republic. For example, on 11 June, in Khodzhaabadskiy Rayon, on the Kolkhoz imeni Babur and the Dustlik Kolkhoz, some of the local inhabitants intended to hold a demonstration with a demand to reelect the chairmen of these kolkhozes who were Kirghiz by nationality. Similar, is it not?

The given version has a continuation. Judging from some sources, the struggle for "political and nomenklatura representation" by the Uzbek inhabitants of Kirghizia has assumed a separatist nature. This also, supposedly, is a reason for the disorders.

At the joint session of the Kirghiz and Uzbek republic government commissions held on 12 August in Andizhan, the Chairman of the Kirghiz Council of Ministers A.D. Dzhumagulov said:

"We have reason to think that the main cause of the disorders is not the land and not domestic questions. The reason is that there are appeals by the Uzbek portion of the population in the city of Osh to establish autonomy. This demand has been voiced at numerous meetings."

It would be difficult to agree that this idea alone was to blame for the wave of crimes which has swept through. Clearly, the passions over the question of autonomy have actually come to a boil.... At the same time, the blow was prepared from a completely different side.

It was directly prepared for. Carefully, effectively, cruelly. Bandits were trained who were to carry out the bloody actions. The fierceness of the masses, so to speak, was also prepared. From 5 through 7 June, when people were murdered in Osh Oblast, meetings of the student youth were held in Frunze. The newspaper SOVETSKAYA KIRGHIZIYA on 10 June published

material from the Kirghiz Telegraph Agency with a characteristic title: "The Shout of the Mob Is Not the Voice of the People."

The newspaper wrote: "The farther we go, the more clearly the set direction of the held meetings becomes clear. One can feel that they have directors and conductors. They organized the assemblies and were concerned for their mass attendance. Agitators walked through the dormitories, leaflets were disseminated notifying the time and place of the assemblies. Instances are known of threats directed against students who did not voice a desire to participate in these measures.

"...Even the most naive person could easily guess the presence of a unified 'dispatcher center' from which the demonstration anarchy was controlled."

The arsenal of means which were used by the regulators of this demonstration anarchy in principle is not new but is effective. There is the exciting of the easily aroused, emotional youth. Provocative rumors and inflammatory slogans. A strict screening of the speakers. If someone happened to make it to the rostrum with words of truth about the events happening in Osh, or with appeals for calmness, he was immediately shouted down.

A similar scenario of "raising the fierceness of the masses" was played out also on the territory of Andizhan Oblast. Clear proof that on this side of the frontier as well there are strongly united forces working for a single goal in action in centers of tension.

Just what are these forces? Much points to the informal associations.

The story has been proposed that the bloody clashes were the result of the actions of the informal organizations Adolat and Aymak which use the factor of instability in a struggle for power.

Of course, we must analyze what the role was of the informal groups in the tragedy which occurred. But it is important, in taking certain factors into consideration, not to overlook others. To accuse the informal organizations of everything would mean to divert attention from those real problems and injustices which have caused and do cause dissatisfaction among the people and lead to tension and instability.

Our view is that we must not stop at any one link in this complex causal chain. In order to untangle the knots of conflict, it is essential to see all the threads. It is essential to consider those real problems which have caused the outbursts of human dissatisfaction. It is also essential to understand how the human dissatisfaction is being employed by ambitious politicians striving for power. One factor links with another and the two together link with a third, and this is the criminal world. It also must not be discarded. It also has warmed and continues to warm its hands in the flames of human grief.

What we have is a convergence of interests of the criminal world and the immature political "fighters." And need it be said that a mix from such a confluence is explosive.

The USSR Supreme Soviet has appealed to the people of Kirghizia and this appeal expressed great concern over the tragic events which had led to human casualties and destruction. It called upon the Kirghiz, the Uzbeks and the representatives of all nationalities residing in Kirghizia to show reasonableness, restraint and not to give way to provocation, not to allow the fanning of hostility and blind hate between the peoples who over the centuries had lived side by side, in peace and concord.

We could give scores upon scores of examples of how the Kirghiz and Uzbeks are trying to return to a peaceful life. We have no doubt that the leaders of the two fraternal republics will do everything to restore the friendship and fraternal relations between the peoples. And much is already being done.

But let us be completely frank. The crack which has opened in the relations between the inhabitants of Osh Oblast, and not only Osh, will not disappear quickly. All the more as the people interested in deepening this crack and in increasing tension have still not been held to answer and are continuing their destructive "work."

What is the solution? How to put an end to the interne-cine conflict? At present, these questions are being settled by the Armed Forces and the Soviet soldier. But the military will not be able to maintain order always. The state of emergency will not and should not last perpetually.

In our view, there must be a political solution to the question. It would be a good thing if the representatives of both republics sat down at the negotiating table and tried to find a mutually acceptable solution. It would be a good thing if the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet would also show initiative here. Otherwise, the tension and explosiveness will remain for a long time to come. We are afraid that a stalemate can arise similar to Karabakh. Under our conditions this is fraught with no less but even more fateful consequences and even greater casualties.

At present, we are concerned solely with general arguments. It is time, it has long been time, to move from good intentions to specific deeds and turn the fine tales about the "strong centers" and "strong republics" into a prosaic and indisputable true story.

The nation is filling up with refugees. To our shame, we have become more easily accustomed to the word "refugee" than we have to the word "acceleration."

Will there be an end to this acceptance of alarms, excitements and grief? Will we ultimately become accustomed to a normal life?

We believe this, we hope for this, and we expect this.

### Crime Solving Problems Discussed

90UN2219A Moscow SOYUZ in Russian  
No 23, Jun 90 p 18

[Article by Nikolay Aleksandrov: "The Detectives' Lament and the Frank Opinion of Police Scientists"]

[Text] The author of these lines has worked for the police for nearly 15 years. Whether I like it or not, the problems of the USSR MVD are my problems. And then there's my friend, a Moscow Criminal Investigation—MUR [Moskovskiy Ugolovnyy Rozysk] employee, whom I just ran into. He looks sad, shoulders slumped, old beyond his years, and stooped... "I'm leaving my job," he suddenly admitted. "I'm all played out; let the young guys have their sport... That's it for me—Neither honors nor a raise will keep me!"

His words shocked and puzzled me. Maybe someone else; but him? He's a professional at what he does! How many villains has he caught with his bare hands—you can't count them. And all of a sudden...

I had to look into it. And here, as if on purpose, a booklet turned up under my hand, published by the USSR MVD Academy, with a rather dull title of, "Unsolved Crimes and the Search for Organizational-Administrative Measures to Reduce Them." It was written by Militia Colonel Yu. Abolentsev, a doctor of economic sciences. In it I resolved to find the answer to my question—why my friend is so sad. And here is what came of that...

#### The People are Dissatisfied with the Work of the Police. Why?

In the opinion of many people, they are continually afraid for their personal safety. Of those interviewed, 70 percent indicated that thoughts of crime never left them, day and night. Their close friends and relatives experienced feelings of serious alarm too.

The citizens place hooliganism in first place. Of the urban and rural dwellers surveyed, 74.8 percent have felt the effects of this crime; 62.7 percent fear apartment burglary; and 38.1 are afraid they will be taken advantage of by the wave of speculation sweeping the country.

Many citizens were interviewed. A significant number of people have already encountered these crimes from their own bitter experience: one in four with speculation; one in twelve with larceny; and one in eight with hooliganism.

In the opinion of our fellow countrymen, the actual number of crimes is much greater (eight to ten times) than those registered at the police departments. The people think that the employees of the Internal Affairs organs are still cooking the books. In connection with the fact that, in the opinion of the scientists who conducted this analysis, the public's negative attitude toward the work of the police has outweighed their positive feelings, the situation is becoming critical and is dangerously close to erupting in mass rebellion.

The number of crimes which turned out to be beyond the capacity of their native Pinkertons are nudging the public toward dissatisfaction. Suffice it to glance at the data in the table:

Unsolved Crimes (as of 1 Jan 1990)			
Region	Per 100K Pop.	Of Which Severe	Growth Rate
Tyumen Oblast	831.1	125.5	164.2
Primorskiy Kray	767.2	87.0	110.1
Rostov Oblast	631.2	63.3	180.0
Karaganda Oblast	601.5	—	101.2
Sakhalin Oblast	527.0	31.6	171.0
Dnepropetrovsk Oblast	526.8	—	48.2
Kemerovo Oblast	493.1	81.3	237.5
Magadan Oblast	452.3	37.3	110.9
Ulyanovsk Oblast	419.5	51.8	150.0
Volgograd Oblast	419.1	57.6	164.6
Sverdlovsk Oblast	383.9	58.5	105.6
Komi ASSR	337.0	25.6	77.8
Voroshilovgrad Oblast	314.8	—	123.0
Donetsk Oblast	192.1	—	44.0
Lvov Oblast	174.4	—	126.0
Bashkir ASSR	172.0	22.4	72.8
Chernigov Oblast	138.5	—	122.8
USSR as a Whole	326.5	37.2	100.2
RSFSR as a Whole	423.2	48.7	106.7

#### Why the Growth in Crime?

We shall answer that question a little later on, but first let's look at the evidence: in 1988 it increased by 3.8 percent; but in 1989...all at once, crime increased by 31.8 percent...

The forecasts for this year are not comforting—there will be an increase in the number of criminal encroachments on us all; and there will be an increase in the number of unsolved crimes as well, which as we have already noted, are "beyond the capacity" of the police. This pertains to both the country as a whole, and to all republics without exception, whether union or autonomous.



The dynamics of the process indicate that the sharp upward surge in crime began in 1987, and only cardinal measures can halt this take-off.

The sad thing is, that whether it be 1988 or 1989, the new year brings a kind of "Christmas present," the crimes which remain unsolved. New incidents sifted down like snow out of the skies in January, and the laments and dramas of past months and years which swirl around one's feet like the autumn leaves demand the rapt attention of those who wear the militia tunic and great-coat.

We don't want to shock you, the readers, but the last two years produced a residue of unsolved crimes as large as that of the entire eight (!) years preceding. And once again the forecast: by the end of 1990—the growth of registered crimes (and the number not registered is only a guess) will amount to nearly 20 percent. Putting this in terms of numbers means—2,900,000 crimes, and of these 1,400,000 will be unsolved; that is, nearly half.

Naturally, at the same time the workload of those lovers of detective novels, the employees of the criminal investigation department, the investigators and criminologists, will increase. But these "experts" do not have the psycho-physical and emotional capacity to operate as successfully as in the movies. The survival urge—which is completely natural in these conditions—leads to a situation in which they focus their attention only on solving the big, "noisy" cases, leaving all the minor ones—hooliganism, petty theft, 100-ruble swindlers—beyond their field of vision. "Give us the murder of the century, billion-ruble thefts, and the robbery of premiers and admirals."

And so that is just how the number of unsolved crimes, which we have already cited, grows.

There are many reasons for the low crime-solving rate. We shall mention only those which the practical workers of the internal affairs organs cited. Interference in investigations by officials of party-soviet organs was cited by 52.4 percent of those surveyed; preventing police officers from carrying out their direct responsibilities by diverting them to other matters, 69.8 percent; insufficient amount of criminological and computer technology, 86.1 percent; lack of transportation, 95.3 percent; insufficient amount of skilled cadres, 71.3; poor work organization, 58.6 percent; and, the personnel department is not properly assigning specialists, 53.4 percent. The question of help to the police on the part of the public is a complex and unpleasant one. Let's be honest! We are not helping the police; we're not only afraid of being summoned to court and dragged through the departments, we also do not want to get a reputation as a "stool pigeon" or "secret informer." And that is our right. If we don't want to, we don't talk. Let the cops go around in circles. But we will also reap what we sow—the increasing criminal encroachments upon us.

### An Unexpected Effect...

It would seem then that the police are not coping with solving crime; then what is the problem? We select the most honest and most courageous. We put a uniform on them, sew on epaulets, and march them out onto the streets, to expose themselves to bandits and rapists! Ah, no... That's not where it's at! It seems that the numbers of the "honest and the brave" are not the solution...

Scientists have discovered that where there are a lot of policemen, the crime-solving rate is not better, but worse! How does this happen? Perhaps it is because increasing the size of the criminal investigation staff requires corresponding increases in places for them to work, motor vehicles for operational travel around the city, and proper work organization on the part of their supervisors (right up to the USSR MVD). One problem gives birth to another—it is not easier...

And so one can only speculate on how to get the police out of this mess: without assistance from us—the public, and without "kopeck" support from the government, which manages its "sieve of a budget." But the workload per criminal investigator from various regions last year was as follows:

### And the Last Sad Conclusion...

In the opinion of scientists, the correlation of "professional detectives" to the total number of investigation personnel should be one to four.

An investigator becomes a "master detective" only after ten years of practical work. Add to this, the first five years of training. The total is—15 years of service. By this time the professionals, as a rule, are filled with the desire to enhance their career, and climb the official ladder (at the age of 40 or so, with his health sapped). And if he succeeds at this, then he is withdrawn from the sphere of searching for criminals and exposing their deeds. And who is left? A few "masters" and a mass of "probationers" gaining experience.

And now I understand why my friend the "detective" was so gloomy...

### Rigid Standards Set For New MVD Contract Platoon

90UN2333A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 10 Jul 90 Single Edition p 3

[Article by S. Shevtsov: "Contract Service"]

[Text] I have heard that now soldiers of the Internal Troops will be professionals, like the American Rangers. Is that so? I did my conscription stretch several years ago—with no reprimands. Is there a possibility for me to become a professional soldier?

I. Korolev, Tyumen Oblast.

The first 25 Internal Troops servicemen have signed contracts to serve in a professional unit.

In a gymnasium 20 muscular young men form a large circle. Three of them—wearing boxing gloves and helmets—enter the circle and, on an officer's command, start... fighting. Two on one. The "fight" is observed by Major Oleg Lutsenko, commander of the first separate experimental professional Internal Troops company to be formed in our country. "Stop!" Lutsenko orders and jots down comments in a writing pad before calling out another three men.

"This is a routine checkout of the men," the officer told me during a break, "they are tested according to the American Cooper System. Candidates are evaluated according to a 500-point scale. Only those who pass the physical examination are allowed. And it is strict: Out of the first 90 some 70 were rejected. It is not enough for a future Spetsnaz [special forces] man to be just healthy and strong. In his first test he must survive a fight (as yet only a fistfight) with two opponents, do 15 to 40 and more chin-ups, lift a 70-kilogram bar 10 times, do 40 push-ups, perform a variety of coordination exercises, handsprings, somersaults... The candidates' intellectual abilities are also tested." "Contract soldiers" must learn to parachute, snorkel, drive all kinds of vehicles, including fighting vehicles, fully master the use of all types of small arms and active defense systems, meet rating levels (not lower than second) in several sports, including karate and 10-kilometer forced march, and master a dozen skills... And it is significant that, with all this, when carrying out an assignment they must display, in addition to courage, decisiveness, high professionalism and other qualities.

And what tasks will our uniformed professionals have to perform? Ten minutes after an alert signal they must be ready in full battle dress to take off for any point to capture (eliminate) armed extremists, terrorists, armed nationalist or other gangs or units, capture and eliminate enemy commando groups.

All these are the professional soldier's obligations, duties to the people and the state. And what does the state guarantee for its defender? A monthly salary of 300-380 rubles, quarters in a well-appointed dormitory with two persons per room (during duty hours—in a barrack), free meals, college enrollment benefits.

"We are interested in the soldiers' extending their contracts," says Colonel I. Rubtsov, deputy commander of the Dzerzhinskiy Division. "That is why we will create the very best conditions for them."

Three hundred rubles a month—is that a lot or too little? Of course it's too little, the guys grumble: "In a TV ad they were offering street-car motormen 500 rubles. And we will have to be under fire..." But nevertheless they were in high spirits: youthful enthusiasm tells.

So far none of the officers of the first professional Spetsnaz company has an apartment. Lutsenko himself lives in his office. Colonel P. Lysikov, chief of the division's political section, speaking of this dejectedly, stressed:

"But still, the matter has gotten off dead center. I think no one doubts that we need a radical military reform. Our first professional soldiers are first and foremost soldiers of the law, which perestroyka needs so much."

To reader I. Korolev, who sent the letter to our paper, as well as to all those who wrote to the Dzerzhinskiy Division and the Central Internal Troops Administration, we can only add that if they are under 28, if they have sports ratings and favorable testimonies from the services or place of work, they can try their luck: formation of the first experimental Spetsnaz company is not yet over. But if you are too late, don't be discouraged: as we learned at the Internal Troops Administration, if the experiment in the Dzerzhinskiy Division is successful it is planned to place most Internal Troops units on a professional footing.

#### **MVD Reports on Crimes Committed by Women**

90UN2284B Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Jun 90 p 4

[MVD report: "The 'Weak' Sex in the Mirror of Criminalistics"]

[Text] Last year, 39,106 women, or 4.8 percent of all the convicted persons, served a term in correctional labor colonies.

15.9 percent of them were imprisoned for premeditated murder, 6.5—for premeditated serious bodily harm, 4.5—for brigandage, 4.1—for robbery, 29.7—for theft of personal property, 5.3—for embezzlement of state or public property, 2.9 for hooliganism, and 0.5 percent—for rape. Moreover, more than half of them (54.5 percent) were subjected to criminal punishment for the first time, and the recidivists among them (those sentenced a second, third time or more)—45.6 percent.

72.8 percent of those convicted committed the crime at a mature age (from 25 to 55 years). The youngest (up to age 25) come to 20.2 percent, and those who are over 60—to 2.3 percent.

Among the criminals are for the most part persons without definite occupations—42.5 percent.

Taking into account those who were given a suspended sentence, "female" criminality looks dismal. According to data of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, last year every seventh arrested offender was a woman, and in five republics—Belorussian, Lithuania, Georgia, Kazakhstan, and the Ukraine—their number is even greater. The "favorite" crimes of women were embezzlement of state and public property through appropriation, peculation, and abuse of official position (approximately 45 percent among those convicted on the basis of these articles), as well as bribe-taking, deception of buyers and customers, illegal home distilling, respectively 39, 68, and 69 percent of those who were convicted for these crimes. Incidentally, last year 239,000 women were arrested for drinking alcoholic beverages and appearing in a state of intoxication in public places (12,000 were

under compulsory treatment for alcoholism), 19,000 were arrested for vagrancy and begging, and for prostitution—2,000. As the result of the deprivation of parental rights by courts, 12,100 children turned out to be without parents.

In spite of the trend toward a reduction in the number of crimes committed by women in recent years (by 26 percent compared to 1964), the "rejuvenation" of their structure is cause for alarm. Increasingly often crimes are committed by girls 14-17 years of age. Last year, 13,500 of them, or 20.5 percent more than 5 years ago, were brought to light.

### **Planned Improvements in Detective Services Detailed**

90UN2284A Moscow SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA  
in Russian No 11, Jun 90 pp 21-24

[Article by N. Dyakov, chief of the press center of the USSR Association of Detective Services (ADS), member of the USSR Union of Journalists: "Are We Doing the Same Thing? Or What Do Our Pinkertons Think About Their Prospects?"]

[Text] In the journal SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA No 6, 1990, the material "Private Detectives in a Legal...Vacuum" was published. It called forth a great deal of interest among readers, in their letters they asked for more detailed information about the USSR Association of Detective Services (ADS) "Aleks". In the letters from readers, various points of view were expressed, polar attitudes to investigation bureaus. In order to make an objective judgment about the problem, it is necessary to have an adequate volume of information.

In connection with this, the editors turned to the press center of the ADS with the suggestion to prepare relevant material about the affairs, problems and prospects of detectives, and made it possible to comment on the opinions expressed in the preceding publication of the deputy procurator of Moscow, A. Antoshin, and the leading staff member of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Dr of Law I. Petrukhin.

Today we invite your attention to the material prepared by N. Dyachkov, chief of the press center of the ADS and a member of the USSR Union of Journalists. (Telephone for information: 310-81-02, 128-41-06).

We have been trained for so long to work not for money, but to take part in work, that today by far not everyone finds it within his capabilities to work on khozraschet [cost-accounting] principles. And not at all because we are such satisfied people.

This is how it used to be: If you did not do any work or did a poor job, you were deprived of the most important thing in life—satisfaction from work, and your extremely modest salary or wage remained the same. With the years, this practice led to a new type of individual, who

acquired the ability to receive happiness from inactivity, but among whom intensive work calls forth anguish and irritation.

Those who are most strongly in support of economic experiments, trying to preserve the love for their chosen work, have found various sources to increase their budgets: Someone managed to get three harvests at a dacha, someone makes additional money working as a taxi driver with his private car, etc. But a part of the citizens, having resigned themselves to the fact that it is impossible, being engaged in any work, to obtain both satisfaction and money, have continued to bear their cross, frequently having neither the one nor the other.

...And here came perestroika. Everything became confused in the Soviet house: The old ideals came crashing down, new ones have not yet been created. What to believe in? And what to do with need?

And need is experienced by large strata of the population, which look at everything through the prism of their situation. And in this situation, mistrust arises with respect to everyone who receives more money and lives better.

It is no coincidence that, before talking about investigation bureaus and legal cooperatives, we began our narrative with such a punctilious question as money. And why engage in abstract discussion here, let us have a look the salaries of official lawyers, MVD officials, and their colleagues from cooperative organizations. There is no point in concealing, a difference exists and it is a significant one. And because nothing positive would be said about the independent firms of lawyers (at the suggestion of the author), all the same this will call forth mistrust among a certain circle of people. Of course, you know, they have an irrefutable argument: They cover themselves with fine words, but they themselves....

Understanding that to make a man change his mind about his settled and deep-rooted convictions is a hopeless undertaking, and we will not do this. Especially as this is not even important, since it is not for individual opinions to decide the fate of the investigation bureaus and legal cooperatives, but for people who have and should have the right to pay or not to pay for the services offered to them. If this right is taken away from people, even if out of concern for their well-being, our society will once again return to the notorious period of stagnation.

But now to the business at hand. Let us begin at the very beginning, with the history of the creation of the legal cooperatives in the USSR, with what functions they took it upon themselves to carry out.

The Law on Cooperatives interested a great many of our fellow citizens, in those days they only talked about the prospects that were opening up. The lawyers and officials of the law enforcement organs, too, did not stand on the sidelines during these events.

And soon what an avalanche of cooperatives there appeared: Construction, artistic, sewing, trade-purchasing, and simply production cooperatives intending to manufacture everything: From chairs to electronic computers. But for a long time, nothing was heard about legal cooperatives. Then materials and meditations of the type, as in IZVESTIYA, "Do We Need Attorney Cooperatives?" were published in newspapers.

And all this was not an accident—the local gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms refused to register the statutes of legal cooperatives and investigation buros, or dragged out the time, explaining: Your documents are being checked in the procuracy. For months the ispolkoms did not examine the documents and did not give any intelligible answers, most often they put the blame on the higher-ups, they say, for the time being no permission has come down from there, but we would be glad.... But there were also answers which were substantiated as follows: "The M—Gorispolkom cannot register the Statute of the Cooperative "Man and the Law" because former staff members of the departments of internal affairs intend to work in it who have been dismissed from the militia for reason of "official disparity" and other negative reasons. Which is confirmed by documents that have been received in the Department of Internal Affairs."

People who are not very well informed (and it is a pity that one still encounters such people among the officials in executive authority) have perceived this determination identically—they have been caught, they were dismissed from the militia, and now they want to create a legal cooperative and work for the mafia.

Yes, to this day our militia with ease pins labels on people, and they are removed with great difficulty. But behind this determination of "official" disparity there stands nothing more than the settled personnel policy in the MVD, from which they do not dismiss people at their own volition, as in the "Civil War", but write them off either for reasons of health, or with such a "reference", or send them into retirement for meritorious service.

There was also another reason why the ispolkom officials did not want to cooperate with the citizens in the creation of legal cooperatives. One deputy ispolkom chairman I know, in a discussion with me, explained his position as follows: "We will create such a cooperative and it will be difficult for us to work." Of what are they afraid? Of the fact that with the help of legal cooperatives citizens will be able to competently demand and attain their rights? Bureaucrats are afraid of competent plaintiffs—this was noted long ago.

The chiefs of the departments of internal affairs, too, took a negative attitude toward the investigation buros. Thus, the chief of the Leninskiy Rayon Department of Internal Affairs of Novosibirsk, N. Mamontov, reacted anecdotally to the development of an investigation buro in his rayon: "What? Members of cooperatives will entice my people? If they come closer to the rayon department than 100 meters, 15 days and nights?

And nevertheless, a breach was made into such a solid wall as the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The legal cooperative "Man and the Law" of the city of Novokuznetsk became the first officially registered legal firm in the country, combining a legal buro and a buro of investigation. It was organized and headed by the honored lawyer of the RSFSR, L. Mirgorodskiy, who during the past 20 years before his retirement worked as the procurator of Novokuznetsk.

"The Novokuznetskstroy Trust consented to become the guarantor of our cooperative," recalls L. Mirgorodskiy. "Just as soon as the Law on Cooperation became effective, our cooperative at once began to operate. We accepted 60 clients, and we earned 180 rubles."

What services did the cooperative offer to the citizens?

The legal buro: Appearance in courts for criminal and civil cases; consultations on any legal question; composition of statements of claims, complaints, and other business papers; legal assistance to cooperatives, enterprises, and organizations; composition of lease agreements and others; composition of statutes and other documents, necessary in the organization of cooperatives; the presentation of lectures, the holding of seminars and "roundtables" on legal subjects.

The Buro of Investigation: The organization of the maintenance of public order in the microrayon, in society, and in the enterprises; the protection of cashiers, witnesses and other citizens who have suffered; the search for malicious persons in arrears with alimony payments; the protection of construction projects, enterprises, private and cooperative garages and motor vehicles; legal assistance in the disclosure of crime; the extension of services in regard to accompanying children from schools, sections, etc. in the evening and later times. The extension of services to the sobering-up stations, bailiffs, and rayon departments of internal affairs in the levy of penalties from debtors; and the collection of information not containing state and official secrets.

This was the beginning. Behind us are 1.5 years of work, and, naturally, the list of the services being offered by the "Man and the Law" Cooperative has significantly expanded, under it legal and production branches and joint enterprises have been created. It makes sense, perhaps, to name the most basic of the new services:

A buro was created for the conduct of bookkeeping audits, expert examinations, and economic analysis of the activity of enterprises. Together with the Zhilsotsbank of Kuybyshevskiy Rayon of Novokuznetsk, it was decided to offer services for the safekeeping of the valuables and precious things of citizens during their vacation or business trips. The manufacture of reliable doors for private homes and communal apartments has been organized. Legal assistance is being provided to drivers and car lovers—consultations, going out to the scene of an accident if there are disagreements with the

State Automobile Inspection Service; appearance in courts in cases connected with the driving of motor vehicles.

In the cooperative, a school of managers is operating, which has already produced 120 students, who have acquired the necessary knowledge for beginning businessmen.

A joint enterprise has been created with the "Granit" Cooperative—a sports school for oriental single-combat self-defense. At present, about 400 people of various ages are studying in it twice a week. Three months of training cost the pupils 60 rubles each. The studies are conducted by experienced masters.

It is planned to organize the output of family safes and radio engineering means for warning of apartment thefts and car thefts.

And all this is offered to people by only one legal cooperative. But if we talk about the services offered by the USSR ADS "Aleks", to which about 20 investigation buros and legal cooperatives belong, the list will be still more extensive. However, in order not to tire the reader with an enumeration of the services and the products being turned out, we will briefly designate all this as follows: Detectives are carrying out work with respect to all types of protection, they are studying the prevention of crimes and the formation of the sense of justice in citizens.

Thus, lawyers working in the state law enforcement organs and the detectives of the firm "Aleks" are doing the same thing.

Moreover, there are already sufficiently positive examples of the work of the staff members of the militia in regard to the combining of jobs in the investigation buros, in regard to joint activity to guarantee order and to expose crimes. The ADS "Aleks" receives official inquiries—letters, signed by the chiefs of the departments of internal affairs of the various cities of the country, in which the directors of the departments of the militia ask to extend methodological and consulting assistance in the creation of an investigation buro.

Comrades from Czechoslovakia and the GDR have arrived to imitate our experience in the creation of investigation buros and legal cooperatives.

Without a doubt, there also are those things which distinguish detectives from officials of the militia, the procuracy, etc. And above all, it is the attitude to the client. For the criminal investigation buro, the client is always welcome, his interests are above everything else.

Concrete information about the services offered and without the consent of the client is not made available to anyone. Through this the constitutional right of citizens to the inviolability of their private life is guaranteed. Clients are not registered, no card indexes on them are started. There is no need for this.

I recall the following example: To the Moscow Investigation Buro "Aleks" came parents with the request to find out about the milieu of their 17-year old daughter N., they were worried by the fact that, after unsuccessful enrollment in an institute, they had apparently replaced their daughter with someone else: She became rude, cynical, sometimes does not spend the night at home, and brings expensive things home. Once in the evening, an acquaintance of the girl came after her in a car and gave her an imported tape recorder as a gift. The parents asked to ascertain who this fellow was, but in such a way that the daughter, the neighbors, and the militia would not find out.

A group of operational workers of the buro quickly found out what the parents asked about. The daughter was extricated from the networks that had entangled her. The buro offered its services for the defense of N., and the parents said that they certainly will make use of them if there is need for it.

There is still another distinguishing feature in the relations of the detectives with the clients. If a person comes to the militia as an applicant, and this is humiliating, he comes to the investigation buro, in some sense, as the master of the situation. And he pays the private detectives a basic honorarium after his order has been carried out, in accordance with an agreement, which stipulates all the fundamental aspects—both the term and the quality.

What has been said above makes it possible to draw the following conclusion: Services that are free of charge frequently do not give the citizen the confidence that his interests will be protected as they should. This may be illustrated by the following example: A citizen turned to the investigation buro for assistance who had gotten his hands on a counterfeit ticket of the Sprint Lottery with a Volga automobile as the prize. The swindler was paid a large sum of money. Before coming to the investigation buro, this individual went to the militia. On the basis of the accounts of the victim, a "picture" was composed. There is no telling how this story would have ended if this matter had not been taken up by the detectives, who traveled to eight cities and found the swindler. Now militia officials are conducting an investigation of this crime.

We have not related this case in order to show what fine fellows the detectives are and to reproach the militia with sluggishness—this would be incorrect. The MVD officials have hundreds, thousands of examples of the successful exposure of more complex crimes. The serious work overload sometimes does not permit the effective investigation of all cases—even the militia officials themselves talk about this. And we would not want for the investigation buros and the legal cooperatives to be regarded as competitors by the MVD. Such a view would be mistaken and harmful, for it puts people in opposition who are bound to cooperate.

V. Kosyakov, the president of the USSR ADS "Aleks" and the director of the Moscow Investigation Bureau, answers the question of the relations of the firm being established with the militia as follows:

"We can significantly facilitate the work of the militia, having taking upon ourselves the execution of the so-called 'trivialities' in which literally all departments of the MVD are tied up. In rough terms, our functions may be described thus—the prevention of crimes, and the function of the militia—the putting a stop to crimes. For the conduct of preventive work, we already have cadres in our organization today who are better prepared than in the militia." What is more, they work with greater efficiency, for their work is stimulated better economically. There is not even a trace of levelling. Not everyone is up to the work in a investigation bureau, as a rule the services of average workers are refused here. The personnel selection is most severe. A great deal of attention is given to the physical training and professional study of the detectives.

However, there are a number of problems that do not permit us to put the work on a higher level. These are, above all, the absence of a good base, the impossibility of obtaining permission for land allotment for construction, great difficulties with the lease of empty premises for office space, etc.

It is impossible not to speak of the fact that today the detectives of "Aleks", in contrast to the militia, do not have legal protection. It seems that the law-giving organs of the country should envisage in their work plans the preparation of a draft law "On Detective Activity in the USSR". Such a document would be regulated by the activity of the ADS "Aleks" and would make it possible to exclude misunderstandings.

But now it is just the right time to proceed to commentaries by the deputy procurator of Moscow, A. Antoshin, and Dr of Law I. Petrukhin.

In our view, the deputy procurator expressed the same idea as we did, there is a need for a law on detective activity in the USSR. By the way, the members of the association are not waiting, as they say, by the sea for weather, but they themselves, trying to move this undertaking forward, are conducting negotiations for the preparation of a variant of such a draft law with the leading scholars and lawyers of the country.

Great apprehensions were expressed apropos of the fact that staff members of the investigation bureaus intrude into the sphere of criminal procedure relations, which are strictly regulated by the Code of Criminal Procedure. These fears have no substance. First of all, the association does not take up criminal cases. However, at the request of the leadership of the Department of Internal Affairs, detectives were attached to the investigation of some cases, but in these cases their actions were coordinated with the militia. Secondly, for operational work in the investigation bureaus persons are admitted who not only have a good knowledge of the Code of Criminal

Procedure, but who also have great experience in such activity—obtained during years of service in the section for the struggle against theft of socialist property (OBKhSS), the investigation departments of the departments of internal affairs and the procuracy. So that to fix and preserve pieces of evidence and the traces of a crime is something which the detectives, if necessary, could do no less professionally than the militia officials.

As regards the negative attitude of A. Antoshin to the fact that among the staff members of the ADS there are also militia officials, with respect to whom the concept of "free time" is extremely relative and depends on the operational situation, I would like to note: The departments of internal affairs are involved only for the guarding of objects consisting of groups of detectives and they always have the possibility of postponing their duty. What is more, only militia-men are accepted for guard duty who have a standard working day (duty unit, patrol-post duty service).

A kind of dessert to the materials "Private Detectives in a Legal...Vacuum" was the commentary of the chief scientific associate of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, I. Petrukhin, who writes: Along with the cooperatives, associations appeared which call themselves public investigation organizations. Are they legal? One should think, in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs they consider such enterprise legal. The deputy procurator of Moscow, as we see, thinks differently."

Let I. Petrukhin pardon me, but it obviously seemed to him that A. Antoshin thinks otherwise. Moreover, he said that in the conditions of a legal vacuum, the procuracy, in detective matters, operates according to the old medical precept: "Do not do much harm." The deputy procurator did not say a word about the illegality of the investigation bureaus.

In the last paragraph of his commentary, A. Antoshin cited the position of the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, but he did not say that he shares it. As far as the statements of V. Bakatin, the USSR minister of Internal Affairs, at the 2nd USSR Congress of People's Deputies on investigation bureaus is concerned, we hope that he was not talking about the members of the ADS "Aleks". With full responsibility, the governing board of the Association declares: Taking into account the character of activity, there cannot be, either in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, or in the Procuracy, any compromising materials on the investigation bureaus that are members of the the ADS. Under the ADS "Aleks", a security service has been created which checks on what activity the organizations engage in that make up its membership. So that the purity of the ranks in the association is strictly watched. We hope that it is clear to everyone why—the detectives have something to lose: The possibility of taking up any case and earning a good income. Judge for yourselves: (The facts are from a recent story)—the USSR minister and deputy minister committed mercenary crimes, criminal groups were

operating in a number of departments of internal affairs—it was nothing to the ministry, except spots on the uniform. They did not close it down. Such luxury is not permitted to the investigation buros, and that is well and good: We will observe honor from our youth on.

Further, I. Petrukhin discusses the status of the association: "A cooperative in the usual meaning of the word is a variety of public organization. But in the strict legal sense, a public organization is not a cooperative since it pursues not production, but other goals: The development of political activity and the awareness of citizens, the satisfaction of their diverse interests (Article 51 of the USSR Constitution)."

This judgment, too, may be disputed: The "Yuridicheskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar" [Legal Encyclopedic Dictionary] ("Sovetskaya entsiklopediya", 1984) states on p 205: "A public organization is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the highest form of public-political organization, the nucleus of all state public organizations: Of the trade unions, the Komsomol, the *cooperative organizations* (author's italics), voluntary societies, creative unions, etc."

This is the year 1984. Times change, and concepts also change. When the dictionary was published, there were not cooperatives in the present-day understanding, but the cooperative organizations of those years nevertheless had production goals. Life has long since been organized in such a way that any society, power, and organization must have and strengthen its economic foundation, if they do not want to collapse like a house of cards.

Evidently, it makes sense to cite the text of Article 51 of the USSR Constitution (in the new wording of 14 March 1990):

"Citizens of the USSR have the right to unite in political parties and public organizations, to participate in mass movements that are conducive to the development of political activeness and initiative, to the satisfaction of their diverse interests.

"Public organizations are guaranteed the conditions for the successful execution of their statutory tasks."

Thus, the arguments with respect to the activity of the public organizations within the framework of Article 51 of the USSR Constitution are senseless. All actions aimed at its infringement should be regarded as unconstitutional.

A little bit further down, I. Petrukhin writes: "For this reason, groups of people who are captivated by investigation are nevertheless members of cooperatives. Of course, they do not want to be called that since this [entails] both as special registration procedure and a high tax, as well as the submission of reports on their work."

But the registration procedure of investigation buros is the same as for cooperatives: Not a single organization that has an income can get out of the submission of

reports on its work, and the tax on investigation buros comes to 60 percent of the profits! Cooperatives pay significantly lower taxes.

But now, why, in the opinion of I. Petrukhin, are the organizations of detectives so harmful? Here it would be good to quote again his "lively" citation, but it turned out to be very long. It is necessary to distill, preserving the essence.

1) "When a husband, out of jealousy, follows his wife, and parents their children, this is all right, but when detectives are taken for this, it is dangerous, because the detectives are intruding into the 'holy of holies'—the private life of the citizens which is protected by the USSR Constitution."

The answer here is unequivocal: The detectives of the buros of the ADS "Aleks" do not engage in the shadowing of spouses.

2) "Detectives catch 'petty thieves', but it is cheaper to put up a fence, to establish dual control, than to hire them"—I. Petrukhin.

Whom to pay, how much, and for what—this is also the sacred right of the client and the labor collective, and one should not impose one's conceptions.

By way of example: According to the statistics, nowadays almost every second car on the railway is opened—which results in enormous losses for enterprises and organizations and which undermines the fulfillment of state orders. Dozens of enterprises today have concluded agreements with detective buros for the guarding of railway freights (the services are very expensive), but they have no regrets. For long ago life has taught all the following truth: A miser pays twice.

3) "The occupation of detectives is to make money. How? They will not say directly. They do, of course, have the possibility of deviating from the officially declared goals. The romanticism of the detective, the independence. ...all this is a good enticement for young people who do not want to engage in ordinary work." I. Petrukhin.

I would like to see the reaction to these words by the fellows who in cold and heat accompany railway freight cars, who do not sleep at night guarding material values, who risk their lives protecting the dignity and honor of citizens—yes, for money. We will not be canting hypocrites: Everyone of us strives to make more money, and there is nothing bad in this. The paths to this goal are different. Our Soviet history used to know such a thing, where doctors of law, too, were in the dock for taking bribes. Thus, are we not to trust all the professors of the VUZ's, all the ministers? Indeed, it is awkward for me, who does not have academic degress in law, to remind you of the presumption of innocence.

And the last thing: The detective, in the opinion of I. Petrukhin, is not uncoordinated groups, but an Association of Detective Services, which has departments in



other cities. He says that it has no ideological platform, and thus it can be used for any, including political purposes. "The penetration of living quarters, eavesdropping, 'spying', and card indexes on citizens—all these are dangers that need to be taken into account in the assessment of the social role of the investigation agencies that are being created."

Why intimidate us with that which already was and what still, possibly, is retained in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the KGB? Why ascribe someone else's "deserts" to others? In this matter, detectives cannot compete.

Comrade Petrukhin is also incorrect in saying that "Aleks" does not have an ideological platform of its own. There is a platform—we support restructuring, we will fight for the creation of a rule-of-law state. Incidentally, there are quite a few communists and Komsomol members who work in the investigation bureaus, the questions of the creation of primary party organizations are being decided, and 60 percent of the staff members have a higher law education. We understand that this is today already no longer an argument, but nevertheless.

We know before whom and for the sake of whom to observe our honor and dignity, and we are far from indifferent to the interests of the state.

And the fact that the investigation bureaus have united in an association, that there is a centralized organization—this is not a bad thing at all for the state, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and for the procuracy: The possibility has appeared at least to influence somehow the detective services. Lack of control in any undertaking is harmful, but so is monopolistic overorganization.

At the end of the material, I would like to thank you, comrade Petrukhin, and the editors of the journal SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA: You—for expressing your point of view, and the editors—for making it possible to have an exchange of opinions.

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### **Controlling Involvement of Militia in Juvenile Crime Recommended**

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[Article by Vyacheslav Yermakov, doctor of juridical sciences and senior scientific associate at the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Strengthening Law and Order: "Is The Militia Really Saving Our Children?"]

[Excerpt] [passages omitted]

It is the practice for departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the procurator's office and the courts to deal with the most difficult children and juveniles, those whose difficulties are due to personal qualities or living conditions. A special place in this system is reserved for departments of the militia and its special service—the

Inspectorate for Juvenile Affairs (For a long time, beginning in 1949, this inspectorate was subordinate to the Criminal Investigation Department of the MVD and was not transferred to the jurisdiction of the Crime Prevention Administration of that same ministry until 1988).

Every year the militia registers (this measure is an invention of the militia itself) about 300-350 thousand juveniles of which 5-7 percent are children who have not reached the age of eleven. Furthermore, the number of minors taken to the militia departments yearly has approached 1 million individuals; roughly 1 in 4 is younger than fourteen. More than a third of them actually are detained and handed over to the militia illegally, under the pretext of "verification", "determination of identity" and so on. Quite frequently the long arm of the law does not stand on ceremony where juveniles are concerned: in a number of cases, they use handcuffs, fingerprinting, threats and insults.

Are the militia's methods of dealing with minors effective? Alas, no. Today, the highest level of juvenile crime in Estoniya, Latvia and the RSFSR is in precisely those places where militia departments have the most juveniles on the crime prevention registry. This illustrates once again that the militia's means and methods for coercing juveniles is hardly a way to prevent delinquency. Unfortunately, there is no sense in speaking of strictly educational influence. As a rule, inspecting officers primarily do paper work, writing reports, drawing up plans to re-educate juveniles, and so on. As evidenced by selective sampling research, they spend no more than 5-7 percent of their working day in direct contact with their wards.

To draw an analogy with medicine, in a difficult case or during a complicated operation the expert, a top specialist, takes over. Yet here we see the opposite: the difficult, neglected child falls into the hands of the non-specialist, the policeman, who is at odds with the teacher and who reduces everything to exhortations, criticism and intimidation.

The following sad, natural law has been observed: the earlier juveniles fall into the hands of the militia, the more frequently such coercive measures as isolation from the family and the training collective are employed against them and the more insolent and steadfast their delinquency becomes. From 50 to 70 percent of convicted juveniles, prior to committing a serious crime, had been arrested, convicted or spent time in special correctional labor and training colonies. Moreover, it has been explained that, among criminal recidivists, 3-4 times as many had been on the police crime prevention registry prior to age 14 than those who came to the attention of the police at a later age.

Children who experience the "care" of the militia at an early age develop an immunity to any kind of compulsive measures to influence them; animosity appears and they rebel in their relationship with their educators, not only against the militia workers but also against their



parents and the teachers who handed them over to their unsympathetic "mentors". As a result, the situation arises whereby it is impossible to deal with the youth. We have seen all this in Kazan, Alma-Ata, Yakutiya and other hot spots.

In order to save the situation, militia workers press for tougher punishment in the future. Thus, 87 percent of those we questioned who work in the Inspectorate for Juvenile Affairs think that they can deal more effectively with delinquent minors if they are able to send an even greater number of them to regimented correctional institutions and correctional labor colonies. To do this, they suggest increasing their number by a factor of 6-8. They also suggest revising criminal legislation to permit, in particular, criminal punishment against juveniles for graffiti and hooliganism beginning at age 12, instead of age 14 as it is now, and to use only isolation measures against delinquents 15-17 years old. In general, it would be better to abolish criminal conviction and delays in carrying out punishment. Moreover, they are demanding more and more loudly that periods of confinement be increased to 15-20 years for delinquents and even for the execution of juveniles who commit the most heinous crimes.

Have we really failed to see up to now that it is impossible to rectify the situation with punitive measures? As history teaches us, never in any single area—political, economic or social—has the "iron hand" been, nor can it ever be, successful. Is it not time, finally, that we learned from our mistakes and misfortunes? Why do we not use the best experiences from the past? Let us change our strategy and tactics and adopt a humane path, limiting and reducing to a minimum the use of administrative and criminal and legal methods of coercion against children and juveniles.

Also, of course, I think it is time to relieve the police of their crime prevention work with educationally deprived children and juveniles. Now, while we are intensifying (and we must intensify) the activities of the Councils of Peoples' Deputies, perhaps we should place in their hands the responsibility for resolving all correctional problems connected with difficult juveniles. To do this, it would be expedient to create in the rayons, cities and other territories social and state councils for public education and upbringing. They should be given not only the kindergartens and schools, but also the correctional and prevention institutions which are working with delinquent youth, including the inspectorate for juvenile affairs, the reception and distribution organizations and special correctional training institutions. We must subordinate the entire system directly to the Councils of Peoples' Deputies and transfer to them the appropriate personnel, offices, transport facilities and other material resources.

It would be useful under the Councils to create permanent services to assist and to protect the rights and interests of the family and minors. In Hungary, for example, 36 such family assistance centers are operating,

employing economists, sociologists, psychologists, teachers and health service and cultural workers. One such center regularly helps 36 thousand people. But here, if a child falls in the "high risk group", the mother has to struggle alone. "Help" is reduced to militia registration of the juvenile. Nothing good can come of this in the future.

It is time that we stopped militia registration of children up to age 14 for deviating from their training or running away from home or school boarding houses. This measure should be used only by decision of a juvenile affairs commission with the consent of the individual directly responsible for the child's upbringing.

Services created in the provinces absolutely must have shelter facilities and family-type hotels so that it will be possible to stop conflict by quickly separating the parents, or sheltering the child who is being beaten at home so that he does not have to spend the night in a basement or on the street. We must reach the point that, at any place in the country at any hour of the day, children and juveniles needing for whatever reason to leave home or education and training institutions can get shelter, food and the necessary help.

While carrying out these charitable functions, the Councils should join forces with all state and social organizations and private citizens in their region to protect the rights and interests of juveniles. To save the "strays", we must enlist the participation of teachers, psychologists and medical personnel who are capable of treating children humanely, showing an interest in paternal attention and rendering genuine help and support. All civilized countries follow this approach. There is simply no other way to save juveniles from crime and the correctional colonies.

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### **Moldova MVD Press Center Crime Report**

90UN2325A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA  
in Russian 22 Jun 90 p 3

[Article by V. Khristinin: "Are They Uneasy in the LTP"]

[Text] Before I cite data on crimes, incidents, and violations of public order that have been committed on the Republic's territory since the beginning of the month, let me say a few words about workers treatment and prevention clinics where a complicated situation has developed. The fact is that the humanization being conducted at them was incorrectly interpreted by a definite portion of those undergoing treatment which requires a fundamental examination of existing law.

What can I add to this? Right now organs of the SSRM [Moldavian SSR] Procurator's Office, Ministries of Public Health, Internal Affairs, and Justice and the Supreme Court and deputy corps are developing a new draft law on compulsory treatment and work education

of alcoholic patients. Workers of the departments mentioned above will visit prevention clinics in the near future, will meet with those being treated, and will listen to their comments and suggestions which will be considered during preparation of normative acts that regulate LTP [Workers Treatment and Prevention Clinics] activities. Well, this dialogue is necessary.

Now let us turn to the operational summary. In June, 1,828 crimes were committed, of which 1,589 are under criminal investigation. The distribution is as follows: 14 homicides, 19 aggravated assaults, 23 rapes, 87 thefts, 142 hooliganisms, 350 larcenies of state property, and 685 larcenies of personal property.

Several examples of the last two figures. On the night of 18 June in the village of Shtefan Vode, unknown individuals managed to disconnect the alarm and, having broken down the entry doors, entered into General Store No. 18 from which they stole money, a television, underwear, and other manufactured goods worth 6,612 rubles.

In Belts, malefactors, having obtained a key, climbed into the apartment of a Production Association imeni V.I. Lenin associate and made off with money, gold articles, and other items. The "find" totaled 2,078 rubles.

As always, such incidents cause questions. What kind of lock was in the doors if they could obtain a key for it? Or, let us say, why is it so easy to disconnect the alarm at the store.

Not one SSRM MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] daily report gets by without "drunken" crimes. On June 17th, a tragic incident occurred in the village of Talmaza near Shtefan Vode. Kolkhoz imeni Michurin worker A. Kozhokar, born in 1948, beat his wife while he was drunk and she died in the hospital from her injuries. Just what a man in a drunk rage cannot do. And, as it turned out, there was no one to stop the brawler. And the result is this tragedy.

### USSR-Baltic Historical Relations Viewed

90UN2494A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*  
in Russian 28 Jul 90 p 2

[Interview with Yuriy Yemelyanov, senior scientific associate of the Institute of the International Workers Movement, by *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA* correspondent S. Kredov: "It Was Not on Bootheels That Soviet Power Came to the Baltics;" date, place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] I recognize, Yuriy Vasilevich, that the task I am giving you is not simple: to explain the results of years of research within the rigid bounds of a newspaper interview. To simplify it somewhat, let's try to use the famous writer's method and proceed by "junctions" of the three peoples' historical path. Thus, the first "junction": the eve of October. What were the relations between Russia and the Baltics at that time?

[Yemelyanov] Bear in mind that the joining of Estonia and Latvia with Russia at the beginning of the 18th century was preceded by a 600-year rule by German barons in the joining territories. The Estonians and Latvians have no grounds to sigh about the medieval period. The barons discriminated against the local population; peasants were often barred from the cities. I will cite just one fact: an Estonian did not have the right to spend the night in Tallinn! Beginning in 1721, hundreds of thousands of Baltic persons moved to Russia to live, and accepted the Russian Orthodox faith. I do not exclude the possibility that today's "migrants," for example, natives of Pskov, are descendants of those emigrants. Alexander III's "Russification" policy at the end of the 19th century is often cited today. But objectively, it promoted the weakening of the German landowners' position in the Baltics and strengthened the local bourgeoisie. Overall, between Russia on the one hand and Estonia and Latvia on the other there exist old organic ties, reinforced by the fact that Estonians and Latvians saw in Lutheranism a German religion foreign to them, and willingly adopted the Russian Orthodox faith. On the other hand, relations between the Lithuanians and the Russians, even with centuries-old ties, were somewhat complicated by religious differences. The Lithuanian population saw in the Catholic Church a protector of its national identity.

[Correspondent] The second "junction": 1918-1919...

[Yemelyanov] The revolutionary movement gathers strength. It is not at all inspired from outside; moreover, it exerts a strong influence on the situation in Russia (bear in mind that the closest associates of Lenin and Dzerzhinsky included persons from the Baltics). Soviet power is established over a substantial part of the republics' territory. It is then overthrown by German occupiers, who impose their will on the people. So in 1918, the puppet government of Lithuania announced its eternal union with Germany and proclaimed a monarchy headed by the German prince. But this regime did not last long, either. By 1919, bourgeois governments came to power in the Baltics. I underline: not as a result

of popular elections, but by force of arms, with the support of the Western powers. The situation in the republics continued to maintain features of a civil war.

[Correspondent] What would you single out as the next key moment?

[Yemelyanov] For Lithuania, it was 1927; for Estonia and Latvia, 1934. Coups took place in the republics. Regimes that were actually authoritarian were established, where parliaments' rights were sharply restricted, or reduced to zero. The president of Lithuania, Smetona, in 1934 stated that "The 20th century is the century of fascism."

[Correspondent] So the dramatic 1939 (we should add, dramatic not only for the Baltics) by our calculation was the fourth "junction".

[Yemelyanov] As is known, at that time the small states of Europe were in a tragic position. They observed with horror the movements of neighboring giants and painfully chose which force to join at the least cost to themselves. In the Baltics, among various levels of the population there were both pro-German and pro-Soviet orientations, which waxed and waned depending on the course of military actions. For example, Hitler's violence against a series of European states created a shock among the republic's population. As a result, the contingents of 20,000-30,000 Soviet troops, sent there in the fall of 1939 in accordance with agreements with the local governments, were welcomed. On the other hand, the war between the USSR and Finland caused an increase in anti-Soviet feelings. The orientation towards the eastern neighbor began to appear unreliable.

There was also a fairly friendly reception (at least in large industrial cities) for Soviet troops in the Baltics in June 1940. (The governments agreed to such a step in response to a note by the USSR government.) It should be noted that at that time our soldiers did not in any way compromise themselves in the republics. No decisive actions were demanded of them. Not wishing to pick a quarrel with Hitler, Stalin for a long time refrained from interfering in the political life of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. On the contrary, even in June 1940 the local authorities carried out punitive actions, with shootings, against demonstrators expressing favorable feelings towards Moscow. The Baltic communists, in the underground, criticized Stalin's representatives Zhdanov, Vyshinsky and Dekanozov for conniving with the bourgeois parties. It was not until June 26, 1940 that our political representative in Estonia, Nikitin, raised the question of legalization of the Estonian Communist Party in a telegram to Stalin. I should note in passing that contrary to the widespread opinion Hitler did not at all "sell out" the Baltics through secret protocols in 1939; there was a division of spheres of influence. Their significance has generally been greatly exaggerated. The news of the June events caught the Fuehrer by surprise. For example, as the American historian Shirer writes, he felt himself insulted and even ordered preparations for

an attack on the USSR by the fall of 1940. But Jodi, one of the heads of the general staff, talked him out of this step.

[Correspondent] Finally, the last "junction": 1940...

[Yemelyanov] The situation in the world was quickly changing. The Reich was apparently getting bogged down in the campaign against England. At the same time, the leftist forces in the Baltics, who had come out from the underground, stepped up their activities against the local governments; these activities took on more and more of a mass nature. There is no sense in denying the fact that Stalin considered the situation "ripe" and moved to a policy of interference in the republics' internal affairs, although there were not yet repressions. In the middle of July 1940, there were elections to the Estonian Duma and the Latvian and Lithuanian Sejms. Candidates from the workers' blocks ran; those from the bourgeois parties were excluded (on the basis of facts concerning their ties with the fascists and financial abuses). Were these elections democratic? Of course not, though they could not be under wartime conditions. But they were no less democratic than any others held previously in the Baltics. At the sessions of the re-formed parliaments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia declarations were adopted on the proclamation of Soviet power and appeals that the republics be accepted into the USSR...

[Correspondent] Let's end our historical excursion here. You, Yuriy Vasilevich, are left with perhaps the most difficult: to try to briefly express your own attitude towards the events of fifty years ago. Yes, the prewar past of the Baltics was full of dramatic turns of events. Yes, the superpowers often violated the rights of the republics, such that we can scarcely hear the voices of their peoples from those days. But nonetheless?

[Yemelyanov] But nonetheless, I believe that Soviet power was not brought into the republics on the heels of anyone's boots. I have had occasion to read speeches of the Baltic parliamentarians of that era. These were sincere people, patriots, who cared about the welfare of their people, who accused the bourgeois governments of forgetting the national interests. So that in July 1940, with all the extremism of the political situation at that time, an internal tendency, organic to the Baltics, won out, one which always enjoyed the support of wide levels of the population.

#### **Donetsk 'Memorial' Official On Stalin Victims Mass Burial Site**

90UN2490A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
5 Jul 90 p 4

[Commentary by the cochairman of the Donetsk branch of the All-Union Historical and Educational Society 'Memorial' B.F. Parsenyuk: "The 'Rutchenkovskoye Field' Calls Out"]

[Text] The press has widely reported that on the outskirts of Donetsk a large burial site of victims of Stalinism has been found in the "Rutchenkovskoye Field." The fate of this tragic spot was written about in PRAVDA UKRAINY by the daughter of a repressed person, the Donetsk resident V.I. (name and address known to the newspaper). "The fraternal grave," the letter says, "has been given over to well-off auto owners for a garage... the ground is being profaned. The public organization 'Memorial' is not justifying its existence, it's being led on a leash by those who have made a deal with their conscience and the law. The demands of the readers of VECHERNIY DONETSK and the city strike committee that construction be prohibited and the garages built be removed from the burial site of the repressed miners are not being carried out."

Our correspondent G. Gnezdilov asked for a commentary on the letter, whose ideas and feelings are shared by many of the city's residents, from the cochairman of the Donetsk branch of the All-Union Historical and Educational Society 'Memorial' B.F. Parsenyuk.

Although the letter is full of inaccuracies and excessive emotionalism, it is basically correct. There is no place for garages on the bones of innocent people. But it is hardly appropriate to call the cooperative members "well-off auto owners," putting into this term suspicion of dishonorable actions on their part to obtain a parking spot. The cooperative includes blue- and white-collar workers, retirees, participants in the Great Patriotic War and invalids who acquired an auto as part of their social security. For example, the cooperative's management includes a participant of the war in Afghanistan. If these people knew what land they had been allocated for construction, few, very few of them would have wanted to build a garage there.

Yet there is reason to assert that the Kirov rayispolkom and the Donetsk city soviet knew about the existence of a burial site at this spot before the plot was allocated for construction. The authorities allowed only assembled metal boxes to be set up there, without the right to conduct earthmoving work, which could have uncovered everything. So the liability for compensating the cooperative's removal costs should lie with the officials exhibiting negligence and lack of concern in this matter.

We have written to the former chairman of the Donetsk city executive committee G.I. Onishchuk to demand that construction of garages be halted and a special commission be created to investigate the burial site discovered, containing representatives of the public, including 'Memorial.' Similar suggestions were also sent to the oblast procurator and several USSR people's deputies. Society has supported the decision of a substantial part of the people of Donetsk to build a memorial chapel on the burial site. But our numerous written and oral appeals have gone unanswered.

The author of the letter to PRAVDA UKRAINY apparently knows little about the efforts undertaken by

'Memorial'; otherwise, she would not assert that society is being led on a leash by those who "have made a deal with their conscience and the law." We know V.I. by correspondence, but we have never met the author at 'Memorial' meetings, during Saturday work at the "Rutchenkovskoye Field," or during excavations. We suggest: come to us, work in the society, help the cause about which you write with such pain, and then perhaps your and our hopes and dreams will be realized more quickly.

There is much work to do. The construction of the garages must finally be stopped, and those built earlier moved to someplace else. The entire burial area must be closed off, restored and given the status of a cemetery. The specific burial sites must be located and marked with mounds, with an appropriate sign on each. A monument and memorial wall must be set up, on which the families are inscribed of all those who suffered

during the years of Stalinist repression in the Donetsk oblast. Permission must be obtained for construction of a memorial chapel.

Rutchenkovskoye is the second burial site after Bykovka of victims of Stalinist repressions discovered in the Ukraine. Unfortunately, there is reason to believe that there are similar ones in other oblast centers. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet needs to adopt a decree mandating that oblast executive committees, oblast state security and internal affairs offices and procurator's offices undertake a systematic search for places of sorrow like the "Rutchenkovskoye Field." And they should not wait for any instructions.

The people must be certain that the republic's government is undertaking the necessary measures to reveal the crimes of the Stalinist regime. There will then be no reason for letters such as the one sent to PRAVDA UKRAINY by V.I. with the note: "Do not reveal my name; it's dangerous for me."

## Investigation of White Sea Environmental Disaster Updated

### White Sea Protection Urged

90WN0191A Moscow POISK in Russian No 26,  
29 Jun-5 Jul 90 p 8

[Article by POISK correspondent Arkadiy Sosnov, under rubric "Details for POISK": "Why the Starfish Are Dying..."]

[Text] The press has already reported on the mysterious ecological catastrophe on the White Sea. A "graveyard" of starfish and crabs has been discovered for a distance of approximately 40 kilometers along the southern shore of Dvina Bay. The density of the dead starfish is as many as 300 starfish per square meter, and of crabs, 17. In early June the dead bodies of seals appeared on the shore. More than 50 of them have been found. Observers noticed the anomalous behavior of certain seals: spasms and sluggishness. Moreover, animals with similar symptoms were subsequently observed in Kandalaksha Bay. The environmental-protection services of Arkhangelsk were brought to their feet, and a special commission of RSFSR Council of Ministers was created...

A warning message also arrived at the White Sea Biosation of the USSR Academy of Sciences Zoological Institute. It sent the Kartesh scientific-research ship to the area where the animals were dying. The station chief, Doctor of Biological Sciences Viktor Berger, reported to Leningrad that a prolonged gale had hindered the study of the coastal area in the epicenter of the disaster, but on its "periphery" the layer of starfish that had been cast out of the water was 15 centimeters deep. "Among the starfish there are practically no young. The minimal dimension is 5-6 centimeters, and the average is 10-12 centimeters. It appears that the starfish and crabs that live along the shore at depths of 5-10 meters, under the influence of some kind of 'chemistry,' are losing their rate of activity, and perhaps are being narcotized. The starfish, having lost their suction ability, are thrown out onto the shore by the surf. It is very suspicious that this is happening in the interior waters of Dvina Bay..."

According to specialists' estimates, a total of more than 4 million starfish are spread over the sandy shore. But no one yet knows how many are lying on the bottom. That will have to be ascertained by the next expedition, which will include divers with aqualungs. The natural causes of the animal deaths have not been established. It seems, then, that someone had poisoned them. But who, and with what? The subsequent investigation reminds one of a detective story. Samples of the starfish, the soil, the water, and plankton were sent to Leningrad for analysis, including analysis to determine the content of fuel components. A representative of the Northern Fleet confirmed that in December of last year, in an emergency situation, a nuclear submarine had been forced to jettison approximately 20 tons of fuel. But that had happened in the open part of the sea. The animals had died in a place where the Dvina "delivers" the runoff from

enterprises in Arkhangelsk and Severodvinsk. The concentrations of heavy metals in the water samples proved to be normal. What remains? Pesticides, dusts, some other kind of harmful organic chemical? The analyses will probably indicate what the cause was, but that will not make things any easier...

I remember when, several years ago, Orest Skarlato, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and director of the Zoological Institute, shared with me his plans for developing mariculture on the White Sea. Under the scientific leadership of his institute, the restoration of the reserves of the famous White Sea herring and the creation of trout farms began, and the first beds of bivalve mollusks—mussels—were laid. Once every four years, as many as 200 tons of fresh mussels are taken from each hectare of the experimental beds, and this is no less than 20 tons of gourmet food. Skarlato is the scientific head of the GKNT [State Committee for Science and Technology] Project "White Sea," the goal of which is to obtain from the "field" of blue water the maximum amount of beneficial biological output. True, no one yet has grown mussels under such harsh conditions, but, first of all, Orest Aleksandrovich explained, the water in the White Sea is sufficiently clean—that's right, clean! Secondly, the shallow water where the mollusks live is heated up in the wintertime, and the alternating incoming and outgoing tides provide a constant replenishing of the food base for the mollusks—plankton. Of course, the northern winter, which locks the surface of the water in its icy armor, causes a rather large number of problems, but the ZIN [Zoological Institute] specialists have also learned how to grow mussels under the ice.

But now there has been an ecological disaster. Will it be necessary to change fundamentally these rosy plans? The scientist only threw up his hands.

"I can repeat right now that the White Sea is the last relatively clean sea in the European part of the country. When, for the first time, we came up against this 'experiment' in the poisoning of its inhabitants, we were forced to observe the consequences. The starfish (like the crabs) are predators, and they eat a lot of the valuable mollusks, including the mussels that we are raising. But according to data in the literature, if forcible means are used to remove the starfish from the animal community, serious changes occur in the entire biocenosis. Fortunately, there are no mussel beds in Dvina Bay. But we intend to put mollusk beds and fish farms along the entire shore. And without clean water there can be no mariculture. Therefore it is necessary to monitor very strictly the potential sources of pollution and to assure the efficient operation of the purification structures first of all at the major enterprises."

Valentina Kulachkova, candidate of biological sciences and scientific secretary of Project "White Sea, adds, "We are doing everything that is within our power to protect the water. We maintain permanent contact with representatives of the Northern Fleet and with the shippers

who are transporting petroleum by sea. But we feel that our efforts alone are obviously inadequate. It is extremely necessary to have a special governmental decree concerning the protection of the White Sea. We hope that by the autumn we can prepare the draft for such a decree and take it to the country's Supreme Soviet."

### Cause Still Undetermined

90WN0191B Moscow UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA  
in Russian No 28, Jul 90 p 7

[Letter to the editor, with editorial reply, untitled]

[Text] A tragedy has occurred on the White Sea. Millions of denizens of the sea have died. But an unforgivably small amount has been said and written about this. What was the cause of this latest in a series of natural catastrophes? What is its true scope?—S. Korobeynik, Vologda Oblast.

We made telephone calls to several ministries that are taking part in investigating the reasons why animal life is dying in the White Sea—starfish, fur seals, birds... But no one—not RSFSR Goskompriroda [State Committee for Environmental Protection], not USSR Minrybkhov [Ministry of Fisheries], not USSR Ministry of Defense, not USSR Academy of Sciences—provided an intelligible answer. By collecting the crumbs of information about what had happened, it was possible to obtain a picture of the more than tragic situation.

The sea has already cast up onto the shore more than 10 million starfish, hundreds of fur seals, seals, dolphins, nerpas [fresh-water seals], crabs, and birds. The entire Summer Shore, 60 kilometers long and 6 meters wide, is covered with the dead bodies of mollusks and animals. Very rare representatives of marine fauna are dying. The reasons for their dying are unclear. The water in the sea is normal. In the course of the investigation, what would appear to be the most improbable explanations are appearing. One of them is that British interventionists are to blame. In 1918 they threw into the sea barrels filled with poisons, which are allegedly still lying on the bottom of the sea.

There was also an "inoffensive" explanation: overpopulation. However, that explanation has not found its scientific confirmation. The explanation given by MGU [Moscow State University] biologists concerning the broken biological food chain requires careful research of the fauna inhabiting the bottom of the sea.

But while the numerous scientific and quasi-scientific expeditions are giving their own explanations, the unhealthy sea is ejecting everything that used to breathe and live in it only yesterday. The tragedy continues.

### Speculation Reviewed

90WN0191C Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by TRUD correspondent A. Petrov, Arkhangelsk, under rubric "We Report the Details": "Why the Starfish Are Dying"]

[Text] In December of last year, in the eastern part of the White Sea, an accident occurred on a Soviet submarine. To save the ship and prevent the crew from being killed, the command element authorized the crew to dump into the sea from 8 to 16 tons (the precise figure is never mentioned) of a missile-fuel component. Residents of Terskiy Rayon, Murmansk Oblast, learned of this and sounded the alarm. The story about the accident, with a reference to the communique issued by the military command element, was published on 2 May 1990 in the Arkhangelsk Oblast newspaper PRAVDA SEVERA. A week later the first ejection of a tremendous quantity of starfish onto the shore of the White Sea occurred. Then there was a second, and in early June a third. A total of approximately 5 million starfish have died. Public opinion is disturbed: was the missile fuel the reason for the ecological catastrophe?

Incidentally, a good dozen of other explanations and suppositions exist, as well as many more rumors. Of course, they are not among "the most reliable" sources. People started saying that in the neighboring Mezenskiy Rayon there have been unexplainable instances when animals and poultry have died. Those warning messages were checked by workers at the oblast environmental-protection committee. It proved to be a false alarm. Then the committee received materials mentioning the "burial of chemical shells in the White Sea," which allegedly could serve as the reason for the ecological catastrophe. The name of one of the "witnesses and participants" in the burial was even given. But the "witness," it turned out, had absolutely no knowledge of those shells and even threatened to take people to court for falsely accusing him... Recently there were discussions to the effect that the reason why the starfish are dying has been known for a long time by the "higher-ups," but it had been decided to apply the brakes to the matter. How could anyone fail to recall the truism: there are no rumors that are beneficial to us, but only harmful rumors...

Meanwhile there has been an intensive search for the reasons why the starfish are dying. I was told at the oblast environmental-protection committee that a governmental commission has been created. With the aid of the crews of the Kvartsit and Ivan Petrov ships, samples of the water, soil, and marine flora and fauna have been taken, and have been sent for analysis to the Azov Scientific-Research Institute of Fishery, to Leningrad, and to Obninsk, where the appropriate laboratories exist. A search for the causes is also being carried out by local efforts.

The participants in it include the sanitation and epidemiology services, hydrometeorologists, and scientists

from the Polar Scientific-Research Institute of Fishery and Oceanography (PINRO). A situation like this has never arisen previous anywhere in the territorial waters of the USSR, and therefore it is no simple matter to find the reason. Various explanations are rejected one after the other: the radioactivity is within the normal limits, the salinity and temperature conditions are normal, the content of a number of heavy metals in the water does not exceed the admissible concentrations... True, analyses carried out by the Arkhangelsk Oblast Veterinary Laboratory have shown that the reaction to the content of zinc in the starfish is sharply positive, but it is still too early to make any conclusions simply on the basis of that fact.

In addition, autopsies have been conducted on the bodies of two nerpas that were discovered on the sea-shore. The specialists concluded that the animals had died of heart and respiratory failure as a result of paralysis of vitally important centers. There is, as yet, no answer as to why the paralysis had occurred. The environmental-protection committee has received reports from military units that there had been no operations or accidents this year that could have led to the pollution of the sea water.

But let us return to the accident that occurred in the eastern part of the White Sea last December. The command element of the Northern Fleet, in response to a request from the oblast environmental-protection committee, reported the coordinates of the place where it had occurred. The Ivan Petrov research vessel was sent to the accident area. So we will not have to listen to idle conjectures, but will do better to wait to hear what the scientists have to say.

#### **Ukrainian CP Congress Appeal on Ecology**

*90UN2478A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
29 Jun 90 p 2*

[Ukrainian CP Congress Appeal: "On the Path Toward Harmonizing the Interaction of Society and Nature: 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress Appeal"]

[Text] Dear citizens of the Ukraine!

The 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress notes with great alarm the ever accelerating degradation of the ecology of the Ukraine. The agricultural industry's intensive pollution of the air and water resources, progressive reduction of the soil's biological productivity, and ill-considered chemization and water management have caused farming activity to attain a critical impact level on all components of the biosphere.

The majority of technological systems used in public production today have practically exhausted their ecological-economic and social capabilities. They promote the rise of those processes in the biosphere whose consequences we are not capable of predicting.

The departmental consumer attitude toward nature and its resources that today's interests predominate over the interests of the republic's future ecologically-balanced socio-economic development is increasingly destroying the ecological foundations of our common existence and our own future. The critical ecological-economic situation that has developed in the Ukraine requires each person to clearly recognize the need to respect, preserve, and defend the environment from the existing threat, to subordinate our activities not only to the economic and biological, but first of all to the moral-ethical laws of society's interaction with nature.

Ukrainian communists will certainly exert every effort to become the advance guard political force in carrying out the humanitarian mission to provide each of the republic citizen's a living environment that is suitable for a healthy life and active creative activity.

First of all, the congress appeals to scientists and experts to increase their efforts to prepare scientific recommendations that permit us to profoundly comprehend the complex series of questions of reviving the harmony of man and nature and to practically carry out the republic's ecologically-regulated socio-economic development programs on the state level. We expect all citizens of the Soviet Ukraine to manifest the desire and readiness to do everything possible and necessary to insure a combination of the interests of society's activities in the biosphere with the problem of its development and economic use of resources.

Only in this manner can we carry out development of ecologically-based technologies that are capable of insuring our public production's transition to a qualitatively new stage of natural resource utilization and to link the interests of scientific-technical progress, environmental improvement, and a legal management mechanism. We need to predict and control society's activities in the biosphere based on reason, knowledge, and preliminary calculations. Today society, armed with the modern achievements of science and technology, has become an immeasurably powerful force whose might must be placed under the strict control of man's reason. Therefore, each of us really needs new wisdom, new world view principles, and a new morality to preserve and multiply the great wealth of Ukrainian nature for current and future generations and to direct the achievements of scientific-technical progress for the sake of man and the values of his life.

Nature is the unique and wonderfully capable source of the existence of everything living on Earth. While developing plans for our objectively necessary interference in its environment, we need to constantly think about possible alternatives to preserve its ecological balance. Each resident of the Ukraine must assume moral responsibility for the consequences of economic activity and henceforth be guided only by a high civic feeling to insure proper conditions to harmonize the interactions of man and nature!



**First Moldova Women's Congress Held**

90UN2256A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA  
in Russian 20 Jun 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with Leonida Lari, chairman of the Central Council of the Democratic-Christian League of Women of Moldova, by I. Vishnevskaya: "Do Not Forget About Kindness, Tolerance....From the First Congress of Democratic-Christian League of Women of Moldova"]

[Text] Perhaps I am mistaken, but it seems to me that many among us look at the role of women...with the eyes of the "bade Todor", who recognized the purpose of women as only: To tend geese during childhood, in adolescence—to learn to weave carpets and linen for the shirt of her future "master", during the period of growing up to dance the "zhok" [not further identified] with her heart's chosen one, and then—to produce children, to cook hominy for her husband...."—these lines were written by a journalist of BESSARABSKIY VESTNIK 90 years ago. Almost a century has passed, but has a great deal changed in the relationship between society and women, especially the rural woman? I do not know about men, but women will not even begin to answer this question, because the essence of the excerpt of the century-old antiquity cited above has remained the former: In spite of the fact that they have equalized the weak and the old sex, having opened up the doors to secondary and higher educational institutions, to prestigious and heavy work, women nevertheless have remained in unequal conditions compared to men.

Times, morals, and governments change, but the old Russian proverb: "The place of women is between the stove and the threshold" does not lose its topicality. No, the vices of the patriarchal character have been removed, but the life plans and goals of the woman are drawn up depending on her family situation: If she is an exemplary mother and spouse, then her rank at work is no higher than that of an ordinary staff member; if a woman attains leading posts, then the family already is pushed into the background. "Either—or" is what the principle of the communicating vessel dictates. The idea of equality, without economic foundation, is attractive like a soap-bubble and also illusory. Stores with long lines and empty counters, expensive and capricious consumer services, and primitive household equipment not only eat up lots of time, but also the good mood, the kindness of the soul, and femininity. The literary portrait of the contemporary woman is the following: Independent and businesslike, forever in a hurry, tired, and nervous; her children are in essence neglected, the families unstable; as far as intellectual development is concerned, it is similar to a loaded dump-truck moving up a mountain.

The figures give the portrait still greater contrast: 50 percent of the women in the republic work during the night shift, for two-thirds of the representatives of the fair sex the labor is not mechanized, only 4.6 percent of the fair half of Moldavia have "attained" the post of manager; there are even fewer scientific staff members—

scarcely more than 1 percent. And this is also no wonder—when can they perfect themselves if—sociologists have calculated—4.5 hours a day are spent on housework. From the above-mentioned figures the following result: If we combine the medical certificates of 100 working women, their sick-list will be equal to 5.5 months; 1.3 families break up, and 10 percent of the children grow up without a father. And who does not know that is the beginning of beginnings, that the reading of the present and the future begins with her? Already Malinovsky proclaimed this truth which has not grown old: "The mother is the first educator; the more ignorant she is, the more difficult it is for the children to find their way to the light."

Yelena Alestar, who headed the League of Women of Bessarabia at the beginning of the century tried to raise the status of the woman and mother. After the consolidation of Soviet authority in the region, the women's councils replaced the League. But recently the first congress of the resurrected League took place; it now is called the Democratic Christian League of Women of Moldova, which brought together 925 women, who were delegated from all regions of the republic. There were also women invited from the Communist Party, the Komsomol, the trade union, the NFM [People's Front of Moldavia], the League of Physicians, the Vozrozhdeniye Association, the society of Jewish culture..., and representatives of the women of Romania and Lithuania.

As befits an organization in whose name a religious word is included, the congress was opened by a minister, the people's deputy of the Moldavian SSR I. Chuntu. Having consecrated the hall with the cross, he delivered a short speech and presented to the League the icon of the Mother of God. The subsequent discussion proceeded under her sign. Many from evils—from the absence of faith and culture.... Do not forget about general pardon.... When occupied with struggle, the soul sometimes forgets about kindness, tolerance—the attainments of Christianity.... "it was heard from the platform. As for the rest, the speeches reflected the whole palette of socio-political life. The women raised questions directly connected with motherhood and childhood, problems of economics, ecology, and inter-nationality relations. Judging by the reaction of the hall, they were equally concerned with all: With long applause they expressed their solidarity with the proposal of Z. Tserne to make a corresponding entry in the passports of mothers who throw their children on the care of the state, having obligated them to pay 30-percent alimony (for each child) to a concrete children's home; no less prolonged was the applause after the passionate speech of Nikolayeva, an educator from Tiraspol, who talked about inter-nationality relations that have become heated to the utmost. They repeated almost word for word what was said quite recently at the Moldavian Theater, Opera and Ballet Building by the Russian women who were agitated by the killing of the student D. Matyushin: "We fear for the future of our children!"

The peaceful, bright, enlightened, and happy future of the children—here is the basis capable of consolidating the interests of the mothers of all the nationalities. Will the League be able to attain this? With these and other questions, we addressed ourselves to the chairman elected at the Central Council of the Democratic-Christian League of Women of Moldova, Leonida Lari.

[Vishnevskaya] Leonida, the Democratic-Christian League of Women of Moldova—is it a party?

[Lari] No, it is not a party, but an association of women.

[Vishnevskaya] Will the League set itself political goals, or will it limit itself only to socio-economic goals?

[Lari] Our program includes all aspects of the socio-political life of society. The League is a sort of parliament, only one which does not have lawmaking power. But the resolutions that its members adopt will without fail be submitted to the republic's Supreme Soviet. And the resolutions, of course, will concern political, economic, and social questions—you see, all of them have a direct influence on the family. However, the main goal which we are setting ourselves is, above all, moral reforms. Who, except a woman, is able to revitalize and strengthen the Christian commandment?! Our object is the soul of man.

[Vishnevskaya] In the statute of the Democratic-Christian League of Women of Moldova it is stated that any woman who is a citizen of Moldova or another state can become a member of this organization, which already is indicative of the international character of our association. But in another document, the following was heard: "The League will not cooperate with organizations that conduct anti-Moldavian activity: With Interdvizheniye, 'Yedinstvo,' OSTK [United Council of Labor Collectives]...." That is with those organizations to which the basic number of the non-indigenous population belongs or with which it sympathizes.

[Lari] I think there is no point in perceiving everything in such identical terms. We advocate an attitude of understanding on the part of the non-indigenous inhabitants of the republic in regard to the processes of national revival of the Moldavian people; you know, our national freedom is the freedom of the people of all nationalities that inhabit Moldova. Come to us, together we will study this course of Christian morality, in order to strengthen peace. What is more, then, at the congress, a declaration was read in which they demanded to put a stop to the slandering of the Jewish people, is this not evidence of the international spirit of our organization?

[Vishnevskaya] The League and the republic Women's Council are identical organizations. How will their interrelations be arranged, will they not start to duplicate one another?

[Lari] It is too early to talk about this. But, I think, we will not duplicate one another, because the women's councils for a long time are formal organizations.

[Vishnevskaya] What steps must the League undertake in order to escape this?

[Lari] Work for people.

[Vishnevskaya] And the last question: What plan-minimum and plan-maximum do you have, as chairman of the Central Council of the League?

[Lari] The plan-minimum is to answer in deeds those letters I have already received. They contain a cry for help: A single old woman without the means to buy a loaf of bread; a family with three children without a place to live.... Well, and the plan-maximum is to bring about the practical realization of the platform of our organization, which contains questions of the sovereignty of the republic, citizenship, migration, and service in the army.

[Vishnevskaya] Well, so what is left is to thank you for the interview and to wish for the women of all nationalities living in Moldavia to become equal members of the League.

[Lari] Thank you for the wish. I would like for them to come to us, for the mutual suspicions and fears to be forgotten. Sooner or later, all will have to understand: Not a single idea is worth a hoot if a man dies for it....

#### **Moldavia Forms New Continuing Education Association**

90UN2446A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA  
in Russian 10 Jun 90 p 4

[Article by U. Borisov: "The Birth of a New Association"]

[Text] A constituent assembly for the Association of Continuing Education was held in Kishinev. Founding members include the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences, the Center for Political Culture of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, the Republic Council of People's Universities, the Moldavian Republic Council of Trade Unions, the Central Committee of the Moldavian Komsomols, the Ministry of Science and Education of the Moldavian SSR, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security of the Moldavian SSR, the republic Stroybank (Construction Bank), the Moldavian republic board of the Union of USSR Scientific Research Divisions of the USSR, the Moldavian republic board of the USSR Gosstandard [standard setting agency], the Center for Occupational Counseling of Youth, the Kishinev city party gorkom, the "Etalon" plant, the "Intertraining" Association for business collaboration with foreign countries in the area of certifying and retraining managers and specialists in economic activities, the All-Union School for study and incorporation of the achievements of educational psychology and innovative methods in teaching and education of the "Erudit-1" Scientific Pedagogical Center.

Membership in the association is unlimited and other interested institutions, organizations, and enterprises may join.

An Association constitution was ratified at the constituent assembly and a council and audit commission were selected. The major directions to be taken by collaboration among association members, which will be based on commercial principles, were defined.

The major activity of the Association for Continuing Education of Moldavia, said its president, V. Ulyatovskiy, will be the formulation and satisfaction of the occupational and spiritual needs of the inhabitants of the republic in the interests of generating [the appropriate] inclinations and providing a guarantee that human beings will continue [to be treated] as individuals and professional in a dynamically changing society. Our practical goal is to do everything possible to facilitate and help enterprises, organizations, unofficial groups and citizens to increase the professional qualifications, mastery of new skills, and intellectual potential of work forces and specialists in various spheres of the life of our republic.

The members of the Association offer a multifaceted spectrum of instructional, methodological and consulting services on a wide range of problems.

The projected services to be offered include access to the innovative schools of the leading educators of the country, development of communications skills, videotraining in business relations, and specialized instruction in the Moldavian language for groups of workers in various occupations, etc.

#### **Moldavian State Buildings Converted to Schools**

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Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Eduard Kondratov: "They Are Converting Buildings to Schools"]

[Excerpt] The Government of the SSR of Moldova has adopted a decree transferring a number of buildings occupied by state institutions to the Kishinev City Executive Committee to relocate academic institutions in them. Primarily secondary schools. Of the republic capital's 81 schools 72 are operating on double shifts.